CICERO

THE VERRINE ORATIONS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

L. H. G. GREENWOOD, M.A.

FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN CLASSICS

IN TWO VOLUMES

I

AGAINST CAECILIUS

AGAINST VERRES: PART ONE
PART TWO, BOOKS I AND II

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THE VERRINE ORATIONS

I

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE

PREFACE

This edition of the Verrine Orations is not intended as a serious contribution to the improvement of the text. The textual notes have therefore purposely been kept as few and short as possible. The present text is, however, not identical with any already published. It is printed, with many changes, from that of Nobbe. As against Nobbe, the consensus of C. F. W. Müller's Teubner edition and Sir W. Peterson's Oxford edition has usually been accepted without comment; but not always, nor without consideration. I have admitted one or two conjectures of my own; these are carefully noted. Peterson's book remains indispensable for all those who are concerned to assure themselves of the "best readings" and the reasons for them. I have not adopted by any means all his changes; nor, I hope, either adopted or rejected any of them without due consideration; and the more important of them I have acknowledged. The short account of the manuscript authorities, in my Introduction, is based upon his Latin introduction to his

edition and on his numerous articles on the subject in the *Classical Review* and elsewhere. My punctuation often differs slightly from his, but still more often and more widely from Müller's, as any modern English edition must, in this respect, differ from any German one.

For the explanatory notes I am considerably indebted to Long's edition (1862), especially in the otherwise almost wholly neglected first three books of the *actio secunda*.

INTRODUCTION

In the late summer of the year 70 B.C. Gaius Verres, governor of Sicily during the three preceding years, was prosecuted at Rome by Cicero, on behalf of the Sicilian people. Technically the charge was one of extortion. The province, like a plaintiff in a purely civil suit, sued for the restitution of some £400,000, and brought its claim before the *quaestio de pecuniis repetundis*, "the (court of) inquiry into moneys claimed back." But in effect the case was a criminal prosecution for general misgovernment and oppression. The accused, if convicted, would not only have to pay damages; he would be sentenced to the loss of his *caput*, his rights as a Roman citizen.

It is not strange that such cases were no new thing in Rome. During the actual term of office of a Roman provincial governor, he could not be removed. No one in his province could dispute his authority; and the control that could be exercised over him from Rome was little in theory and less in practice. Once out of office, he could be brought to justice; but the chances, even for the worst offender, of avoiding this, or at least of securing acquittal, were always too great, and the deterrent was not serious. It is less surprising that oppression was common than that it was not still commoner. The case of Verres excited unusual interest in Rome; but this was not due either

to the nature of his misconduct or to its magnitude. It was due partly to the personal struggle between the advocates, in which Cicero tried, and, as it proved, tried successfully, to wrest from the older Hortensius his acknowledged pre-eminence among Roman pleaders. It was due, far more, to the bearing of the case on a political crisis of this year, a crisis that forms an interesting episode in the constitutional history of the Republic.

The main body of Roman citizens, though in theory the sovereign power in the Roman state, was never to any great extent sovereign in practice. From the time of the first Punic War the real control of government lay with the Senate, and more and more as time went on, for over a century. Constitutionally the Senate was no more than an advisory committee to help the executive magistrates; in practice, the magistrates acted, and the popular assemblies voted, in accordance with its decrees. Its members were members of the great ancient Roman families, patrician or plebeian, which were only slowly added to, or in part replaced, by other families that rose to wealth as the empire extended. These other families for the most part remained outside the senatorial class; their members neither held the higher magistracies nor sat in the Senate; their political powers were, ostensibly, only those of all Roman citizens. But their class, the *equester ordo*, possessed collectively, and they possessed individually, great financial and social importance; and in the series of attacks upon senatorial ascendancy which opened with the attempted reforms of Tiberius Gracchus and culminated in the Marian revolution, the Knights counted for much. Their motive was

jealousy of the powers and privileges of the senatorial class; they were not moved, any more than the various leaders of the opposition were moved, by any belief in or desire for real democracy. But the rule of the Senate and the senatorial magistrates was sufficiently incapable and corrupt to give the opposition plausible justification for its assaults.

One of those measures of Tiberius Gracchus which remained effective was the re-constitution of the Extortion Courts. These were already in more or less permanent existence to try claims and charges brought against the senatorial governors of provinces. Membership of them was now confined to the equestrian order. It was reasonably held that senatorial offenders should not be tried by senatorial judges for offences which those judges had had, or would like in future to have, the opportunity of committing themselves; and that equestrian judges would be more likely to punish, and so to discourage, oppression of provincials by governors. In practice, there was little or no improvement; senatorial governors and equestrian financiers combined to fleece the provincials on the basis of a division of the plunder, and the equestrian court was never likely to convict a governor who had taken the natural steps to secure an acquittal. Though, therefore, the senatorial order would have liked to recover control of the Extortion Courts, want of will as well as want of power made them acquiesce for some fifty years in the tenure of this judicial power by the Knights alone.

Ten years before the prosecution of Verres, the constitution imposed on Rome by Sulla the dictator had given to the Senate, in theory now as well as in

practice, almost complete supremacy in the state. It was only one detail of his settlement that membership of the Extortion Court, as of the new criminal courts which he instituted, was confined to senators. Justice in the Extortion Court was administered no better for the change. Oppression in the provinces was less, not more, severely punished, and therefore increased rather than diminished. This fact would not of itself cause great discontent in Rome; what mattered was that the Knights had lost more by the change than the Senators had gained. As soon as the opportunity arose, the senatorial monopoly was sure to be challenged, and by the year 70 the opportunity had arisen.

The permanence of Sulla's settlement could only be secured if all senators, however powerful, wealthy and ambitious, would sacrifice their personal aims to the common maintenance of the supremacy of their order. It is doubtful if Sulla himself expected this to happen; in any case, he was hardly dead before it became clear that this would not happen. Under the open or secret leadership of ambitious persons like Pompeius and Crassus and Caesar, senators deserting for their own ends the cause of the Senate, the "popular" opposition began to revive. Unity of purpose, coupled with effective control of the legions, would have enabled the Senate to crush, one by one as they arose, the attempts made to reverse this or that detail of the Sullan constitution. Possessing neither advantage, the Senate was soon revealed less autocratic in fact than in theory. The election of Pompeius and Crassus as consuls for the year 70 was the first striking success of the opposition. A second followed promptly: with the support of the

consuls, the great powers of the tribunes of the plebs, reduced by Sulla almost to nothing, were restored to them. A third was being threatened when Cicero addressed the senatorial Extortion Court as prosecutor of Verres: a bill was already "promulgated" providing that membership of the criminal courts, the Extortion Court included, was no longer to be the monopoly of senators, who were only to constitute one-third of the whole. The menaced privilege was in itself, for reasons already given, not a thing for which the senatorial majority were ready to fight to the last; but they were ready to do much to retain it, both for its own sake and because of what its loss would signify in the party struggle. This was the crisis that gave the case of Verres exceptional interest. The court may or may not have been composed, as Cicero naturally declares it is composed, of unusually honest men eager to punish and remedy grave injustice. The important fact was that it was composed of members of that senatorial order whose supremacy was being threatened, at that moment, as it had never been threatened since Sulla's death. In the issue now pending, the verdict might turn the scale; Cicero insists that it certainly would. He pays compliments to the high character of the judges, but his appeal is to their interests. He urges, again and again, that if this court does not convict this governor, the people will be forced to conclude that no court composed of senators will ever convict any governor, however guilty, who has money to spend on bribery; and that the consequence will be the loss by the Senate of its present monopoly control of the courts.

That this danger was real the sequel proved;

Verres was not acquitted, but the already promulgated bill became law nevertheless, and the Senate's monopoly was ended. The court had, to be sure, no very fine opening for a display of its incorruptibility. The case was too hopelessly black against the accused for either himself or his advocate to care to face it out, and he condemned himself to exile, flying from Rome to Massilia before the court could condemn him. Even had he been willing to await the verdict, the nation's opinion of senatorial courts might well have remained unchanged; it might well have been thought that the acquittal of such a man would have been so unspeakable a scandal that his conviction could bring his judges no great credit. Cicero himself expresses no confidence that a conviction will prevent the bill's passing, but only his certainty that an acquittal will ensure its passing; the chance, he implies, is a slender one, though not on that account to be thrown away.

Concerning the man whom circumstances made, for the moment, so notable a personage, we know nothing more than Cicero tells us, except the bare facts of his flight, condemnation, and exile, and his death, as an exile still, among those proscribed by Mark Antony in 43. To summarize those facts here seems needless. Except his father and his son, we know of no one who bore his name of Verres. We do not know whether this name was his *nomen* or his *cognomen*; if it was the latter, we do not know what his *nomen* was. His father was a senator; apart from that, not a word of his antecedents is given us. Undoubtedly a bad magistrate and a bad man, he was no doubt something less incredible than the monster depicted by his prosecutor. His passion for

Greek art was not the insincere and foolish pretence that Cicero would have it believed; nor was he exceptionally incompetent and silly. Of course Cicero says the worst possible of him at every turn; allowances and deductions must be made. When all is done, he cuts a sorry figure; and it is strange that he was suffered to oppress Sicily for three years, and that political considerations gained him, even in that age, so many responsible and respectable supporters.

Of the various schemes adopted to secure his acquittal Cicero gives us a full account. One of them led to the *Divinatio*, four months before the trial began. Supported by all the Sicilian cities but Syracuse and Messina, Cicero applied for leave to prosecute only to find that he must first establish his superior fitness against Caecilius, a rival prosecutor, put forward by Verres' own supporters, and meant to fail, either through lack of competence, or by playing into the hands of the defence, or both together. The court that decided between the two claimants simply heard the speeches of each on his own behalf, and settled the issue by "guess-work"; the word *divinatio*, properly describing the mental process by which it reached its verdict, was extended to cover the whole procedure, and narrowed again to describe the speech made by each claimant. The danger of Cicero's having to give way to his rival may or may not have been serious; we have no means of estimating it. In any case, it was surmounted.

Having failed to set up a rival prosecutor, Verres' friends next set up a rival prosecution. Delay would be valuable, for many circumstances pointed to a better chance of success for them if the case could

be postponed to the following year. It was decided to prosecute, on a similar charge before the same court, an ex-governor of the province of Achaea, and by being ready to begin this case before Cicero was ready with his, to secure the time of the court for the rest of the year. Plainly, the prosecutor could require the hearing to begin as soon as he liked; and Cicero was ready so long before his opponents had expected that their own preparations had barely begun.

One last resource was open to them. They could not delay the opening of the case, but they might delay its conclusion; and if no verdict were reached that year, a completely fresh trial would be required before a fresh court the year following. To meet this danger, Cicero had to depart from the usual procedure, and to do a thing which it is plain he was legally entitled to do, and for which he tells the court that he can plead actual precedent. There is some obscurity about the exact nature of his innovation.

In the usual procedure, the prosecutor opened with a long speech, which was answered by a long speech for the defence. Each of these speeches may have been followed by speeches from the junior counsel (*subscriptores*) on the same side: we know little of the way in which such persons took part in the proceedings. When all the speeches on both sides were over, the witnesses gave their evidence; first those for the prosecution, then those for the defence. Each of the advocates was allowed to cross-examine his opponent's witnesses; and there was also a debate (*altercatio*) between the opposing advocates, but where this occurred—whether before or after all the evidence was given, or even perhaps after the evidence of each separate witness—we

cannot tell. There was then an adjournment, *comperendinatio*; the name implies an interval of one day, but this may not have been the actual fact. The *actio secunda* began, like the *actio prima*, with long speeches from both advocates; after which, the hearing of further evidence was certainly possible, whether usual or not; and it may be that all the features of the *actio prima* were or might be reproduced. Then the verdict followed.

What Cicero was able to do, whether in virtue of recognized usage or by special favour of Glabrio the president of the court, was to rearrange the procedure of the *actio prima*. He broke up his long consecutive speech into a series of short ones, each of which dealt with one specific charge; and after each of these he called the witnesses concerned to give their evidence. He thus debarred Hortensius from making a long opening speech, but gave him in exchange the chance of making a similar series of short speeches, not merely later on when calling his own witnesses, but also, it would seem, immediately, by replying to Cicero's short speeches as well as by cross-examining Cicero's witnesses. In the *actio secunda* the procedure was to be the normal one; it was only the *actio prima* that would be affected.

The advantages of this plan to Cicero he himself states candidly (*Actio Prima*, §§ 53, 54). (1) The whole time occupied by the trial would be shortened, so that a verdict could be reached within the present year. It is not quite plain how the time would be shortened; for it may seem that the time saved by dropping the two continuous opening speeches might be spent on the short speeches, on both sides, in connexion with the separate charges and the wit-

nesses' evidence on them. We can only suppose that a closer knowledge of the recognized procedure would show that the shortening of the time did follow as a necessary consequence. If there was no legal limit to the length of time that might be spent on the continuous opening speeches, it would be an advantage to prevent the defence spinning theirs out to an altogether abnormal length.[a] (2) The defence would not be able to reply, for the first time, after a long recess, when Cicero's arguments were already half-forgotten and the emotion aroused by his eloquence had subsided. (3) Cicero counted upon public opinion to keep the judges in the path of honesty ; and this opinion would be reinforced in August by the crowds of summer visitors to Rome, drawn there by the census, by the elections, and by the festivals. And, though Cicero naturally does not say so, he may have thought that (4) the evidence of his witnesses would be so overwhelming that the defence would be abandoned, as did in fact happen.

The consequence for us of this new procedure is that the *actio prima* speech preserved to us is merely a short explanatory preface to the *actio* proper. The short speeches that introduced the separate blocks of evidence, though they did not only state, but also commented upon, the particular charges, depended too much on the evidence itself to be worth preserving, especially as the ground is covered, partly if not wholly, by the *actio secunda* speech. There is no reason to suppose that the *divinatio* and *actio prima* speeches are not substantially the speeches actually delivered by Cicero. We cannot tell how

[a] This seems to be hinted at in § 31, "deinde se ducturos et dicendo et excusando facile ad ludos Victoriae."

far he, or any other ancient orator, when revising his speeches for publication, would allow himself to change or improve what he had in fact said.

Since not even the *actio prima* was completed, of course no *actio secunda* took place ; the condemnation and assessment of damages followed Verres' flight immediately. Therefore the *actio secunda* speech, though it may represent in its general contents the short speeches, some of which were actually delivered in the *actio prima*, was never delivered as the connected whole which is what we have. But it does not follow that it was entirely composed "as a rhetorical exercise." Cicero may have hoped that such a speech would never be needed, but he could not be sure of this. He must therefore have composed a rough draft of it before the *actio prima* began ; and unless he could count on a long enough *comperendinatio* to give him time for his "fair copy," he must have gone far towards making that too. In the speech as actually published, he has been careful to keep up the similitude of a speech actually delivered ; this was inevitable if the form of a speech was to be kept at all. It may be granted that a certain air of unreality is given by the necessary though fictitious assumption that Verres had not fled but continued to stand his trial. But this is a superficial detail; in substance and even in form, the *secunda* speech was composed, in advance, for delivery in court ; and the substance of some of it was delivered, in detached pieces, as part of the *actio prima*. Its interest is therefore surely not greatly lessened by the fact that it was never delivered in court just as it stands. We should have lost more than we should have gained by its conversion into a historical monograph.

The Text and Manuscripts

The manuscript authorities for the text may be classified in four groups as follows :

1. The Vatican Palimpsest (*V*), written in the 3rd century or a little later. This is extant in some 50 fragments, none more than 12 sections long, and most of them about 3 or 4 sections long, of the *Actio Secunda*. As much our oldest authority, it is of high value, in spite of many imperfections.

2. (i.) The Cluni or Holkham MS. (*C*), of the 9th century. This only covers three passages of *Actio Secunda*, Book ii., about a quarter of the whole book. For these it is the best authority ; but its value goes further. It originally contained all Books ii. and iii., and was used by the writer of

(ii.) the Lagomarsinian MS. 42 (*O*) of the 15th century, which is consequently valuable for these two books, though not for the rest of the speeches ; and also by

(iii.) "Nannius," "Fabricius," and "Metellus," 16th century scholars whose work, now available, allows us to infer, in many doubtful passages, what the Cluni MS. readings (*c*) were.

3. The "Italian" group : the two best of these, covering all the speeches, are

(i.) *Parisinus* 7776 (*p*) of the 11th century, and

(ii.) the good, though late, *Lagomarsinianus* 29 (*q*), of the 15th century, which is closely related to *p*. The earliest printed editions were made from inferior manuscripts of this group.

4. The "Gallican" group. Of these the earliest and best is

(i.) *Regius Parisinus* 7774A (*R*) of the 9th century : from which, or from a closely similar MS., was made

(ii.) *Parisinus* 7775 (*S*) of the 13th century: from which in its turn was made

(iii.) *Parisinus* 7823 (*D*) of the 15th century; a careful piece of work, which (except for a small part of *Actio Secunda* i.) is the best authority in this group for everything except the last 2 books, which alone have survived in R. Several other manuscripts of this group have little value.

The improvements effected in Peterson's edition are due mainly to his establishment of the importance of the first two of the above groups, of the second in particular, and to his collation of *p* in the third group.

The following table shows the portions of the whole text represented by the four groups.

	1	2		3	4		
	V	C	c (O)	p, q	R	S	D
Divinatio . . .				+			+
Actio Prima . . .				+			+
Actio Secunda, i. 1-89 .				+			+
90-111	(+)			+		+	+
111-end	(+)			+			+
ii. 1-30 .	(+)	+	+	+			+
31-111	(+)		+	+			+
112-117	(+)	+	+	+			+
118-156	(+)		+	+			+
157-183	(+)	+	+	+			+
184-end	(+)		+	+			+
iii. . .	(+)		+	+			+
iv. . .	(+)			+	+	+	+
v. . .	(+)			+	+	+	+

SPEECH DELIVERED AGAINST QUINTUS CAECILIUS NIGER

IN Q. CAECILIUM ORATIO QUAE DIVINATIO DICITUR

1 I. Si quis vestrum, iudices, aut eorum qui adsunt, forte miratur me, qui tot annos in causis iudiciisque publicis ita sim versatus ut defenderim multos, laeserim neminem, subito nunc mutata voluntate ad accusandum descendere: is, si mei consilii causam rationemque cognoverit, una et id quod facio probabit, et in hac causa profecto neminem praeponendum esse mihi actorem putabit.

2 Cum quaestor in Sicilia fuissem, iudices, itaque ex ea provincia decessissem ut Siculis omnibus iucundam diuturnamque memoriam quaesturae nominisque mei relinquerem, factum est uti cum summum in veteribus patronis multis, tum nonnullum etiam in me praesidium suis fortunis constitutum esse arbitrarentur. Quare nunc populati atque vexati cuncti ad me publice saepe venerunt, ut suarum fortunarum om-

SPEECH DELIVERED AGAINST QUINTUS CAECILIUS NIGER

(MAINTAINING CICERO'S OWN GREATER FITNESS TO PROSECUTE VERRES)

I. It may be, gentlemen, that some of you, or some of the audience, are surprised that I have departed from the line of action which I have pursued for all these years with regard to criminal proceedings; that having defended many accused persons, and attacked nobody, I have now suddenly changed my policy, and entered the arena as a prosecutor. But anyone whom this surprises has only to understand the motives that govern my action, and he will not only recognize that I am doing right, but will certainly take the view that no one can be held better fitted than myself to conduct the case before us. 1

Gentlemen, I served in Sicily as quaestor, and so discharged my duties there as to leave behind me, in the minds of all Sicilians, lasting and agreeable memories of my year of office and of myself. The result was that, while they regarded a number of their ancient champions as the main bulwark of their fortunes, they felt they had gained something of the sort in myself as well. Thus it is that now, plundered and despoiled, they have all, repeatedly and officially, approached me, to get me to 2

nium causam defensionemque susciperem. Me saepe
esse pollicitum, saepe ostendisse dicebant, si quod
tempus accidisset quo tempore aliquid a me require-
3 rent, commodis eorum me non defuturum. Venisse
tempus aiebant, non iam ut commoda sua, sed ut
vitam salutemque totius provinciae defenderem : sese
iam ne deos quidem in suis urbibus ad quos con-
fugerent habere, quod eorum simulacra sanctissima
C. Verres ex delubris religiosissimis sustulisset : quas
res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia
in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset,
eas omnes sese hoc uno praetore per triennium
pertulisse : rogare et orare ne illos supplices asper-
narer quos me incolumi nemini supplices esse
oporteret.

4 II. Tuli graviter et acerbe, iudices, in eum me
locum adduci ut aut eos homines spes falleret qui
opem a me atque auxilium petissent, aut ego, qui me
ad defendendos homines ab ineunte adulescentia de-
dissem, tempore atque officio coactus ad accusandum
traducerer. Dicebam habere eos actorem Q. Caeci-
lium, qui praesertim quaestor in eadem provincia post
me quaestorem fuisset. Quo ego adiumento spera-
bam hanc a me posse molestiam demoveri, id mihi
erat adversarium maxime ; nam illi multo mihi hoc
facilius remisissent, si istum non nossent, aut si iste
5 apud eos quaestor non fuisset. Adductus sum,
iudices, officio, fide, misericordia, multorum bonorum

undertake the cause of defending their common for-
tunes. They have been telling me that I made
many professions and promises not to fail to forward
their interests, if the time should ever come when
they needed me. They have declared that now the 3
time has come for me, not merely to forward their
interests, but to stand up for the life and existence
of the whole province : that now they have not even
the gods left in their cities to fly to for protection,
since Verres has carried off the holy images of the
gods from their most sacred shrines. During the
three years in which this man has been their praetor,
they have endured, they say, every outrage and
torture, every spoliation and disgrace, that vice,
cruelty, greed, and insolence could inflict. And they
pray and beseech me not to spurn the appeal for help
of men who, so long as I am alive, should have no
need to appeal for help to anyone.

II. I found myself thrust into a painfully un- 4
comfortable position, gentlemen. Either I must
disappoint these people who had come to me for
help and succour, or circumstances were forcing
upon me the duty of turning prosecutor, after having
given myself from my earliest youth to the task of
defending the prosecuted. I told them that they
could get Caecilius to manage their case, and that
he had the advantage of having served as quaestor
in the province. That fact, which I had been hoping
would help me out of an annoying situation, really
told against me more than anything else : the Sicilians
would have been far readier to let me off if they
had known nothing of Caecilius, or if he had not
served as quaestor among them. Duty, honour, 5
feelings of pity, the noble example of many others,

exemplo, vetere consuetudine institutoque maiorum, ut onus hoc laboris atque officii non ex meo sed ex meorum necessariorum tempore mihi suscipiendum putarem.

Quo in negotio tamen illa me res, iudices, consolatur, quod haec quae videtur esse accusatio mea non potius accusatio, quam defensio est existimanda. Defendo enim multos mortales, multas civitates, provinciam Siciliam totam. Quam ob rem, quia mihi unus est accusandus, prope modum manere in instituto meo videor, et non omnino a defendendis hominibus sublevandisque discedere.

6 Quodsi hanc causam tam idoneam, tam illustrem, tam gravem non haberem; si aut hoc a me Siculi non petissent aut mihi cum Siculis causa tantae necessitudinis non intercederet, et hoc quod facio me reipublicae causa facere profiterer—ut homo singulari cupiditate, audacia, scelere praeditus, cuius furta atque flagitia non in Sicilia solum, sed in Achaia, Asia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Romae denique ante oculos omnium maxima turpissimaque nossemus, me agente in iudicium vocaretur—quis tandem esset qui meum consilium aut factum posset reprehendere? III.
7 Quid est, pro deum hominumque fidem, in quo ego reipublicae plus hoc tempore prodesse possim? Quid est quod aut populo Romano gratius esse debeat, aut sociis exterisque nationibus optatius esse possit, aut

and the established traditional practice of our ancestors—all these, gentlemen, forced me to the same conclusion. Not in my own interests, but in those of my friends, I was bound to shoulder this heavy and toilsome task.

At the same time, this business brings me one consolation. In form, it is an act of prosecution: but it may fairly be regarded as equally an act of defence. I am, in fact, defending a number of individuals, and a number of communities; I am defending the entire province of Sicily; and therefore, in prosecuting only one single man, I feel that I am almost remaining true to my established custom —that I am not wholly abandoning my mission as rescuer and helper.

But suppose it otherwise. Suppose the reasons 6
for my action less suitable, less creditable, and less cogent than in fact they are. Suppose that the Sicilians had not made this request to me, or that I were not affected by the strong tie of friendship that binds me to them. Suppose that I were to say that what I am doing I do for the sake of my country. Here is a human monster of unparalleled greed, impudence, and wickedness. We know the vast scale of his vile robberies and outrages—not merely in Sicily, but in Achaia and Asia and Cilicia and Pamphylia, and even in Rome before the eyes of us all. If I bring this man to judgement, who can find fault with me for doing this, or with my purpose in doing
it? III. Tell me, in the name of all that is just 7
and holy, what better service I can do my country at this present time. Nothing should be more acceptable to the people of this country. Nothing can be more eagerly desired by our allies and by foreign

saluti fortunisque omnium magis accommodatum sit? Populatae, vexatae, funditus eversae provinciae: socii stipendiariique populi Romani afflicti, miseri, iam non salutis spem sed exitii solatium quaerunt.
8 Qui iudicia manere apud ordinem senatorium volunt queruntur accusatores se idoneos non habere; qui accusare possunt iudiciorum severitatem desiderant. Populus Romanus interea, tametsi multis incommodis difficultatibusque affectus est, tamen nihil aeque in republica atque illam veterem iudiciorum vim gravitatemque requirit. Iudiciorum desiderio tribunicia potestas efflagitata est; iudiciorum levitate ordo quoque alius ad res iudicandas postulatur; iudicum culpa atque dedecore etiam censorium nomen, quod asperius antea populo videri solebat, id nunc poscitur,
9 id iam populare atque plausibile factum est. In hac libidine hominum nocentissimorum, in populi Romani cotidiana querimonia, iudiciorum infamia, totius ordinis offensione, cum hoc unum his tot incommodis remedium esse arbitrarer, ut homines idonei atque integri causam reipublicae legumque susciperent,

nations. Nothing is likely to contribute more to the general safety and prosperity of us all. Our provinces have been ravaged and plundered and utterly ruined; the allies and dependents of the Roman nation have been brought down to the lowest pitch of wretchedness; they no longer entertain any hope of deliverance, and are only looking for some comfort in the midst of calamity. Those who 8
are anxious to see our courts of law still reserved for the senatorial order are complaining that they cannot get the right men to act as prosecutors. Those who might act as prosecutors look in vain to see strict justice done in our courts of law. The people of this country meanwhile have been visited with many hardships and many disabilities: yet in all the national life there is nothing whose loss they feel so much as the energy and sense of responsibility that our law-courts showed in times gone by. It is because they feel the lack of such courts that the agitation arose for restoring the tribunes' powers. It is the untrustworthiness of our courts that has excited the further demand for another class of citizens to serve on them. It is through the disgraceful conduct of our judges that the censorship, which in former times was seldom popular, is now being clamoured for, and has already come to be held an excellent and democratic institution. When 9
criminals of the worst sort can now do what they like; when day by day we hear expressions of popular discontent; when the law-courts are disgraced, and the whole senatorial order detested: for all this evil state of things, there is, I have been feeling, only one possible remedy—capable and honest men must take up the cause of their country

fateor me salutis omnium causa ad eam partem accessisse reipublicae sublevandae quae maxime laboraret.

10 Nunc, quoniam quibus rebus adductus ad causam accesserim demonstravi, dicendum necessario est de contentione nostra, ut in constituendo accusatore quid sequi possitis habeatis. Ego sic intellego, iudices : cum de pecuniis repetundis nomen cuiuspiam deferatur, si certamen inter aliquos sit cui potissimum delatio detur, haec duo in primis spectari oportere : quem maxime velint actorem esse ii quibus factae esse dicantur iniuriae, et quem minime velit is qui
11 eas iniurias fecisse arguatur. IV. In hac causa, iudices, tametsi utrumque esse arbitror perspicuum, tamen de utroque dicam, et de eo prius quod apud vos plurimum debet valere, hoc est de voluntate eorum quibus iniuriae factae sunt, quorum causa iudicium de pecuniis repetundis est constitutum.

Siciliam provinciam C. Verres per triennium depopulatus esse, Siculorum civitates vastasse, domos exinanisse, fana spoliasse dicitur. Adsunt, queruntur Siculi universi ; ad meam fidem, quam habent spectatam iam et diu cognitam, confugiunt ; auxilium sibi per me a vobis atque a populi Romani legibus petunt ; me defensorem calamitatum suarum, me

and their country's laws. And therefore I will admit that it is the safety of the whole country that has brought me forward to help her where she most needs help.

Having now explained the motives that led me to 10
ome for ward in this case, I am bound to deal with the contest between Caecilius and myself, so as to give you something to go upon in your choice of prosecutor. The way in which I understand the matter, gentlemen, is this. When anyone is to be prosecuted for extortion, there are two main considerations to be borne in mind, if there is any competition for the right to prosecute. Whom do the sufferers by the alleged injustice most desire to have conducting their case for them ? And whom does the alleged doer of the injustice desire least ?
IV. In the case before us, gentlemen, the answer to 11
each of these questions seems to me obvious. However, I will deal with each of them : and I will deal first with that one which you are bound to regard as the more important of the two, I mean the wishes of those to whom the injustice has been done, those, in fact, for whose benefit this Extortion Court has been appointed.

The charge against Gaius Verres is that during a period of three years he has laid waste the province of Sicily : that he has plundered Sicilian communities, stripped bare Sicilian homes, and pillaged Sicilian temples. Here before you, here with their tale of wrong, stand the whole Sicilian people. I am the man to whose honour, having proved it in the past and not found it wanting, they now fly for refuge. Through me are they seeking help from you and from the law of Rome. It is I, I and no other, whom

ultorem iniuriarum, me cognitorem iuris sui, me
12 actorem causae totius esse voluerunt. Utrum, Q. Caecili, hoc dices, me non Siculorum rogatu ad causam accedere? an optimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum voluntatem apud hos gravem esse non oportere? Si id audebis dicere quod C. Verres, cui te inimicum esse simulas, maxime existimari vult, Siculos hoc a me non petisse, primum causam inimici tui sublevabis, de quo non praeiudicium sed plane iudicium iam factum putatur, quod ita percrebruit, Siculos omnes actorem
13 suae causae contra illius iniurias quaesisse. Hoc si tu, inimicus eius, factum negabis, quod ipse cui maxime haec res obstat negare non audet, videto ne nimium familiariter inimicitias exercere videare. Deinde sunt testes viri clarissimi nostrae civitatis, quos omnes a me nominari non est necesse: eos qui adsunt appellabo, quos, si mentirer, testes esse impudentiae meae minime vellem. Scit is qui est in consilio, C. Marcellus, scit is quem adesse video, Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus; quorum fide atque praesidio Siculi maxime nituntur, quod omnino Marcel-
14 lorum nomini tota illa provincia adiuncta est. Hi sciunt hoc non modo a me petitum esse, sed ita saepe et ita vehementer esse petitum ut aut causa mihi suscipienda fuerit aut officium necessitudinis

they have chosen to protect them in their calamities and avenge their wrongs, to champion their rights and manage their case throughout. Will you assert, 12
Caecilius, that it is not at the request of the Sicilians that I come forward in this case? Or that this court need pay no serious attention to the wishes of these good and loyal allies of ours? If you dare to assert that the Sicilians have not asked me to come forward—a thing which your pretended enemy Verres would particularly like us to believe—then the first thing I have to say is that you will be backing up your enemy's case. It is just this widely-known fact, that all the Sicilians *have* been looking for someone to maintain their cause against his outrages, which makes people feel that not only a preliminary but a definite and final verdict has already been given against him. Now, heavily as this fact tells 13
against him, he dares not deny it: and if you, his enemy, do deny it, I am afraid people will think you treat your enemies in rather too friendly a fashion. In the next place, the truth of the fact is confirmed by some of the leading men in the country. I need not name them all: I will appeal to those who are present in court, since if I were lying I should not like to have them exposing my impudence. The fact is known to C. Marcellus, who is here as a member of the court, and to Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus, who I see is also present. These are men in whose honour the Sicilians particularly trust for protection, since Sicily as a whole is closely connected in all respects with their family. They are aware that 14
this request has not only been made to me, but made so often, and so earnestly, that I had either to take up the case or to disown the obligations of

repudiandum. Sed quid ego his testibus utor, quasi res dubia aut obscura sit? Adsunt homines ex tota provincia nobilissimi, qui praesentes vos orant atque obsecrant, iudices, ut in actore causae suae deligendo vestrum iudicium ab suo iudicio ne discrepet. Omnium civitatum totius Siciliae legationes adsunt praeter duas civitates; quarum duarum si adessent, duo crimina vel maxima minuerentur quae cum his
15 civitatibus C. Verri communicata sunt. At enim cur a me potissimum hoc praesidium petiverunt? Si esset dubium petissent a me praesidium necne, dicerem cur petissent. Nunc vero, cum id ita perspicuum sit ut oculis iudicare possitis, nescio cur hoc mihi detrimento esse debeat, si id mihi obiciatur, me
16 potissimum esse delectum. Verum id mihi non sumo, iudices, et hoc non modo in oratione mea non pono, sed ne in opinione quidem cuiusquam relinquo, me omnibus patronis esse praepositum. Non ita est; sed unius cuiusque temporis, valetudinis, facultatis ad agendum ducta ratio est. Mea fuit semper haec in hac re voluntas et sententia, quemvis ut hoc mallem de iis qui essent idonei suscipere quam me, me ut mallem, quam neminem.

17 V. Reliquum est iam ut illud quaeramus, cum hoc constet, Siculos a me petisse, ecquid hanc rem apud

[a] These two cities (Messana and Syracuse) have not kept away because they object to Cicero as their champion, but because, if they did appear, though they would no doubt help thereby to establish their own innocence, they would also help to establish that of Verres, and they care more for revenge on him than for their own good name.

[b] *obiciatur* is ironical, like Pitt's "atrocious crime of being a young man."

friendship. Yet after all, I need not appeal to their testimony as though the fact itself could be challenged or misunderstood. Men of high rank, who have come here from every part of the province, stand before you, gentlemen, to beg and pray that when you choose the man to manage their case for them, there may be no variance between your judgement and their own. Deputations are present from every community in Sicily except two: and had they come from these two also, it would but mitigate the force of two extremely serious charges against Verres, relating to matters in which he has made these two communities his accomplices.[a] It may 15
be asked why they have petitioned me, of all people, for this protection. Well, if there were any doubt whatever about the fact, I should be ready to tell you the reason for the fact. But the fact, as your own eyes can tell you, being perfectly obvious, I cannot see how the charge [b] of having been specially chosen can properly be held to tell against my claim. However, I do not venture to pretend that 16
they have thought me a better man than any of their other supporters; I will not say so in this speech, and I will not even allow anyone to think so, for it is not true. But with each of these others they have had to consider whether it would suit him, whether his health would allow him, and whether he was really able, to act for them. What I have all along felt and wished about the case is just this: I would rather that any suitable person undertook the case instead of me, but I would prefer myself to nobody at all.

V. There is, then, no doubt that the Sicilians have 17
appealed to me, and we have only to ask how far

vos animosque vestros valere oporteat, ecquid auctoritatis apud vos in suo iure repetundo socii populi Romani, supplices vestri, habere debeant. De quo quid ego plura commemorem? Quasi vero dubium sit quin tota lex de pecuniis repetundis sociorum
18 causa constituta sit. Nam civibus cum sunt ereptae pecuniae, civili fere actione et privato iure repetuntur. Haec lex socialis est; hoc ius nationum exterarum est; hanc habent arcem, minus aliquanto nunc quidem munitam quam antea, verum tamen si qua reliqua spes est quae sociorum animos consolari possit, ea tota in hac lege posita est. Cuius legis non modo a populo Romano, sed etiam ab ultimis nationibus,
19 iampridem severi custodes requiruntur. Quis ergo est qui neget oportere eorum arbitratu lege agi quorum causa lex sit constituta? Sicilia tota si una voce loqueretur, hoc diceret: "Quod auri, quod argenti, quod ornamentorum in meis urbibus, sedibus, delubris fuit, quod in una quaque re beneficio senatus populique Romani iuris habui, id mihi tu, C. Verres, eripuisti atque abstulisti; quo nomine abs te sestertium milliens ex lege repeto." Si universa, ut dixi, provincia loqui posset, hac voce uteretur; quoniam id non poterat, harum rerum actorem quem
20 idoneum esse arbitrata est ipsa delegit. In eius modi re quisquam tam impudens reperietur, qui ad alienam

this fact should influence you, and how far you are bound to consider the views of these allies of Rome, who come to you humbly seeking redress for their wrongs. About this I need surely say very little. There is of course no question that the whole Extortion Law was framed for the benefit of our allies. For when our own citizens are robbed of their 18
money, they can usually bring *civil* actions to recover it, in accordance with the *civil* law. *This* law is for our allies. This is the foreigners' charter of rights. This is their strong tower; somewhat less strong now, certainly, than it once was; but still, if our allies have any hope left with which to comfort their sad hearts, it must all rest on this law alone. Not the people of Rome only, but the most distant nations of the earth, look to find men who shall maintain this law in all its strictness; and they have long been looking in vain. Then can anyone 19
deny that those for whose benefit the law was made should be able to choose the method of procedure under it? Could all Sicily speak with a single voice, this is what she would say: "All the gold, all the silver, all the beautiful things that once were in my cities, houses, and temples: all the various privileges of which, by the favour of the Roman senate and people, I was once possessed: all these things you, Verres, have plundered and stolen from me: and on this account I sue you in accordance with the law for the sum of one million pounds." These, as I say, are the words all Sicily would utter, if she could speak with a single voice: and as she cannot, she has chosen the man whom she herself thinks the right man to conduct her case for her. When such 20
is the issue, what incredible impudence, that a man

causam, invitis iis quorum negotium est, accedere aut aspirare audeat? VI. Si tibi, Q. Caecili, hoc Siculi dicerent: " Te non novimus, nescimus qui sis, numquam te antea vidimus; sine nos per eum nostras fortunas defendere cuius fides est nobis cognita": nonne id dicerent quod cuivis probare deberent? Nunc hoc dicunt, utrumque se nosse, alterum se cupere defensorem esse fortunarum suarum, alterum plane nolle.
21 Cur nolint, etiamsi tacent, satis dicunt; verum non tacent: tamen his invitissimis te offeres? tamen in aliena causa loquere? tamen eos defendes qui se ab omnibus desertos potius quam abs te defensos esse malunt? tamen iis operam tuam pollicebere qui te neque velle sua causa nec, si cupias, posse arbitrantur? Cur eorum spem exiguam reliquarum fortunarum, quam habent in legis et in iudicii severitate positam, vi extorquere conaris? cur te interponis invitissimis iis quibus maxime lex consultum esse vult? cur, de quibus in provincia non optime es meritus, eos nunc plane fortunis omnibus conaris evertere? cur iis non modo persequendi iuris sui, sed etiam deplorandae calamitatis, adimis potestatem?
22 Nam te actore quem eorum adfuturum putas, quos

should dare to undertake or hope to undertake the cause of other people, when those others, those whose interests are concerned, will not have him! VI. Suppose the Sicilians were saying to you, Caecilius, "We have no knowledge of you, we do not know who you are, we have never seen you before to-day. Allow us to defend our fortunes by means of a man whose good faith we have learned to trust." They would only be saying, surely, what everyone would have to recognize as just. What they actually are saying is that they know both of us, and that they are eager to have one of us to champion their interests, and will not have the other at all. *Why* 21
they will not have the other they let us know plainly; their silence would be enough, but they are not silent. In spite of this, will you thrust yourself on them against their will? In spite of this, will you plead in a cause that does not concern you? Defend people who would rather be abandoned by everyone than defended by you? And promise your assistance to people who believe that you neither desire to serve them nor could serve them if you would? Why do you seek to tear away from them the slender hope of future happiness that they still have, founded on the strictness of the law and those who administer the law? Why do you force yourself in, against all the wishes of those whose wishes the law is particularly anxious to consider? Why, after doing none too well by them as an official among them, do you now seek to achieve nothing less than their utter ruin? Why would you make it impossible for them not only to work for their rights but even to lament their wrongs? You 22
must know that if you take charge of their case not

intellegis non ut per te alium sed ut per aliquem te ipsum ulciscantur laborare?

VII. At enim solum id est, ut me Siculi maxime velint: alterum illud, credo, obscurum est, a quo Verres minime se accusari velit. Ecquis umquam tam palam de honore, tam vehementer de salute sua contendit quam ille atque illius amici ne haec mihi delatio detur? Sunt multa quae Verres in me esse arbitratur, quae scit in te, Q. Caecili, non esse; quae cuius modi in utroque nostrum sint paulo post
23 commemorabo; nunc tantum id dicam quod tacitus tu mihi assentiare, nullam rem in me esse quam ille contemnat, nullam in te quam pertimescat. Itaque magnus ille defensor et amicus eius tibi suffragatur, me oppugnat; aperte ab iudicibus petit ut tu mihi anteponare, et ait hoc se honeste sine ulla invidia ac sine ulla offensione contendere. "Non enim" inquit "illud peto quod soleo, cum vehementius contendi, impetrare; reus ut absolvatur non peto, sed ut potius ab hoc quam ab illo accusetur, id peto. Da mihi hoc; concede quod facile est, quod honestum, quod non invidiosum; quod cum dederis, sine ullo

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[a] In §§ 30-33 Cicero gives some details of the conduct of Caecilius in Sicily that go to prove his having been the accomplice of Verres in Sicily.

[b] *i.e.*, Caecilius, even unheard, is not an impressive person: let him reveal his incompetence by speaking, and Cicero's judgement will be further confirmed.

[c] The singular number is used, to suggest that Hortensius is appealing to each member of the court individually.

one of them will appear in it. You must know that they are anxious not to use you to be revenged on someone else, but to use someone to be revenged on you.[a]

VII. Well, but this, you may argue, says only that I am the man whom the Sicilians most wish to have as prosecutor. The other point is, By whom does Verres particularly wish *not* to be prosecuted? That no doubt is a very hard point to settle! Did any man ever struggle so openly and so savagely to win an election, or to save his own life, as Verres and his friends have struggled to prevent the assignment of this prosecution to me? Verres believes me, Caecilius, to possess many qualities that he knows well you do not possess. As to how we are both qualified in these respects, I shall have something to say a little later; for the moment I will merely 23
say—and you may support me in this without opening your lips[b]—that there is nothing in me that Verres can afford to despise, and nothing in you to make him feel very anxious. That is why his great friend and defender is canvassing on your behalf and working against me. He is openly asking the court to give you the preference over me. It is a perfectly proper request to make, he says, and it can involve nobody in any unpopularity or dislike. "I am not asking," he says, "for what I do usually get if I exert myself more than usual to get it. I am not asking that the accused should be acquitted; I am simply asking that one of two men, and not the other, should be his prosecutor. Allow[c] me this; make me a simple and justifiable concession which nobody will blame you for making; and by so doing you will at the same time be allowing me,

tuo periculo, sine infamia illud dederis, ut is absolva-
24 tur cuius ego causa laboro." Et ait idem, ut aliquis metus adiunctus sit ad gratiam, certos esse in consilio quibus ostendi tabellas velit (id esse perfacile); non enim singulos ferre sententias, sed universos constituere: ceratam uni cuique tabellam dari cera legitima, non illa infami ac nefaria. Atque is non tam propter Verrem laborat quam quod eum minime res tota delectat. Videt enim, si a pueris nobilibus, quos adhuc elusit, si a quadruplatoribus, quos non sine causa contempsit semper ac pro nihilo putavit, accusandi voluntas ad viros fortes spectatosque homines translata sit, sese in iudiciis diutius dominari non posse.

25 VIII. Huic ego homini iam ante denuntio, si a me causam hanc vos agi volueritis, rationem illi defendendi totam esse mutandam; et ita mutandam ut, meliore et honestiore conditione quam qua ipse esse vult, imitetur homines eos quos ipse vidit amplissimos, L. Crassum et M. Antonium, qui nihil se arbitrabantur ad iudicia causasque amicorum praeter fidem et ingenium adferre oportere. Nihil erit quod me

[a] Two precautions (to ensure secrecy of ballot) which Hortensius bids those judges whom he has bribed, or intimidated, to nullify by showing their tablets to his agents among them.

[b] *Cf.* i § 40.

[c] The tablets will be all alike, without distinguishing marks or colours on the wax.

without incurring any risk or discredit yourself, to secure the acquittal of the gentleman in whose behalf I am working." At the same time, he appeals 24
in some measure to your fears as well as to your kindness. There are, he tells you, certain members of the court to whom he wishes the voting-tablets to be shown (as can quite easily be done), because the votes are to be recorded not one by one but simultaneously,[a] and moreover each voter is receiving a tablet waxed properly, as the law requires,[b] and not in the scandalous and shocking way that you may remember.[c] Not that he is so very deeply concerned on Verres' account; it is rather that he dislikes the whole turn affairs are taking. Hitherto some of the prosecutors have been boys of good social standing: and these he has been able to outwit. Others have been mere profit-hunters: and these, with good reason, he has always despised and neglected. He now sees that courageous men, persons of established reputation, are willing to prosecute: and he is aware, that if this change takes place, his own supremacy in the courts will be at an end.

VIII. I give this gentleman fair warning well be- 25
forehand, that, if you decide that I am to conduct this case, he will have to make a radical change in his methods of defence. He will find himself forced into a sounder and more respectable position than he at all desires to take up. He will have to follow the example of eminent men like L. Crassus and M. Antonius, whom he once knew: men who did not hold themselves justified in bringing into court any means of helping their friends except their own honesty and talent. If *I* conduct the case, he will

agente arbitretur iudicium sine magno multorum
26 periculo posse corrumpi. Ego in hoc iudicio mihi Siculorum causam receptam, populi Romani susceptam esse arbitror; ut mihi non unus homo improbus opprimendus sit, id quod Siculi petiverunt, sed omnino omnis improbitas, id quod populus Romanus iamdiu flagitat, exstinguenda atque delenda sit. In quo ego quid eniti aut quid efficere possim malo in aliorum spe relinquere quam in oratione mea ponere.
27 Tu vero Caecili, quid potes? Quo tempore aut qua in re non modo specimen ceteris aliquod dedisti, sed tute tui periculum fecisti? In mentem tibi non venit quid negotii sit causam publicam sustinere, vitam alterius totam explicare, atque eam non modo in animis iudicum sed etiam in oculis conspectuque omnium exponere, sociorum salutem, commoda provinciarum, vim legum, gravitatem iudiciorum defendere? IX. Cognosce ex me, quoniam hoc primum tempus discendi nactus es, quam multa esse oporteat in eo qui alterum accuset; ex quibus si unum aliquod in te cognoveris, ego iam tibi ipse istuc quod expetis mea voluntate concedam.

Primum integritatem atque innocentiam singu-

have no reason to think that the court can be bribed without serious danger to a large number of people.
I, feeling that in this trial I have, certainly, con- 26
sented to undertake the cause of the Sicilians, but have also chosen to undertake the cause of the Roman nation—I have not only to do what the Sicilians ask of me, not only to crush one particular rascal, but also to do what the people of this country has long been demanding should be done—I have to extinguish and exterminate all rascality of every kind. How far I can succeed, how far I can achieve this end, I will rather leave to the hopes of others than declare with my own lips.

And now, Caecilius, I ask what *you* can possibly 27
do. When or where have you done anything to make other people believe in you, or even tested yourself on your own account? It has probably never occurred to you what it means to bear on your shoulders the whole weight of a criminal trial. You must set forth in detail the whole history of another man's life. You must not only make it clear to the understanding of the court: you must draw the picture so vividly that the whole of the audience can see it with their own eyes. You have to maintain the security of our allies and the prosperity of our dominions, the efficacy of our laws and the authority of our law-courts. IX. Let me instruct you, this being your first opportunity of gaining such instruction, as to the many qualifications a prosecutor must possess: and if you find that you possess any single one of them, you may have what you are seeking, for I shall be willing to withdraw in your favour.

First, a prosecutor must possess a particularly

larem; nihil est enim quod minus ferendum sit quam rationem ab altero vitae reposcere eum qui non possit
28 suae reddere. Hic ego de te plura non dicam; unum illud credo omnes animadvertere, te adhuc a nullis nisi ab Siculis potuisse cognosci; Siculos hoc dicere, cum eidem sint irati cui tu te inimicum esse dicis, sese tamen te actore ad iudicium non adfuturos. Quare negent ex me non audies; hos patere id suspicari quod necesse est. Illi quidem, ut est hominum genus nimis acutum et suspiciosum, non te ex Sicilia litteras in Verrem deportare velle arbitrantur, sed, quod isdem litteris illius praetura et tua quaestura consignata sit, asportare te velle ex Sicilia litteras suspicantur.

29 Deinde accusatorem firmum verumque esse oportet. Eum ego si te putem cupere esse, facile intellego esse non posse. Nec ea dico quae, si dicam, tamen infirmare non possis: te antequam de Sicilia decesseris in gratiam redisse cum Verre: Potamonem, scribam et familiarem tuum, retentum esse a Verre in provincia cum tu decederes: M. Caecilium, fratrem tuum, lectissimum atque ornatissimum adulescentem, non modo non adesse neque tecum tuas iniurias persequi, sed esse cum Verre et cum illo familiaris-

upright and blameless personal character; nothing could be more intolerable than that a man whose own conduct will not stand criticism should proceed to criticize the conduct of someone else. I will not 28
say much about you in this connexion; but there is one fact that I imagine nobody has failed to notice. The Sicilians are the only people who have hitherto had the opportunity of knowing much about you; and although the hostility of the Sicilians is directed against the man whose enemy you profess yourself to be, yet what they say is that, if you are to conduct the case, they will not appear at the trial. Why they say so you shall not be told by me; let these gentlemen surmise what they cannot help surmising. The opinion of the Sicilians, certainly, is not that you are anxious to procure from their country documentary evidence against Verres. They are an unduly shrewd and suspicious race: and what they suspect is that you are anxious to get certain documents safely out of Sicily that contain, under one and the same seal, evidence not only about Verres' praetorship but about your quaestorship also.

In the next place, a prosecutor must show firmness 29
and honesty. Even if I thought you were anxious to show such qualities, it is easy to see that you cannot. I do not assert certain facts which nevertheless you could not call in question if I did. I do not assert that before you left Sicily you made friends with Verres again: nor that your secretary and intimate friend Potamo was retained in Sicily by Verres when you left it: nor that your accomplished and brilliant young brother Marcus has not only failed to come here with you and help you to avenge your wrongs, but is actually in Verres' com-

sime atque amicissime vivere. Sunt et haec et alia in te falsi accusatoris signa permulta, quibus ego nunc non utor; hoc dico, te, si maxime cupias, tamen
30 verum accusatorem esse non posse. Video enim permulta esse crimina quorum tibi societas cum Verre eius modi est ut ea in accusando attingere non audeas

X. Queritur Sicilia tota C. Verrem ab aratoribus, cum frumentum sibi in cellam imperavisset et cum esset tritici modius HS II, pro frumento in modios singulos duodenos sestertios exegisse. Magnum crimen, ingens pecunia, furtum impudens, iniuria non ferenda. Ego hoc uno crimine illum condemnem
31 necesse est: tu, Caecili, quid facies? Utrum hoc tantum crimen praetermittes an obicies? Si obicies, idne alteri crimini dabis quod eodem tempore in eadem provincia tu ipse fecisti? Audebis ita accusare alterum ut quo minus tute condemnere recusare non possis? Sin praetermittes, qualis erit tua ista accusatio, quae domestici periculi metu certissimi et maximi criminis non modo suspicionem,[1] verum etiam mentionem ipsam pertimescat?

32 Emptum est ex senatus consulto frumentum ab Siculis praetore Verre, pro quo frumento pecunia

[1] suspicionem *is the MS. reading: Peterson emends to* sponsionem: subscriptionem *and* susceptionem *have also been suggested.*

pany and associating with him on thoroughly intimate and friendly terms. You display all these marks of the counterfeit prosecutor, and many others besides. But I will make no use of them at present. All I maintain is that, however anxious you might be to be a genuine prosecutor, it is simply impossible for you to be one. For I observe 30 that a great many of the charges against Verres concern matters wherein you have been associated with him in such a way that you dare not refer to them as prosecutor.

X. It is a general complaint of the Sicilians that Verres, having requisitioned corn from the farmers for his private maintenance, exacted 12 sesterces a bushel from them in lieu of the corn, when the value of a bushel of wheat was 2 sesterces. A serious charge; a huge sum of money; a shameless theft; an intolerable wrong. I could not fail to secure his condemnation on this ground alone; but what will you do about it, Caecilius? Will you pass over a charge 31 of this importance, or bring it up against him? If you bring it up, are you prepared to charge another man with the guilt of doing what you have done yourself at the same time and place? Will you dare to conduct your prosecution of another man in such a way as to leave you no defence against being condemned yourself? If on the other hand you pass this charge over, what can be your value as a prosecutor? Serious and well-grounded as the charge is, the personal risk to yourself will deter you not merely from any suggestion of its truth, but even from any allusion to its existence.

Again, during Verres' praetorship a quantity of 32 corn was by decree of the Senate bought from Sicilian

omnis soluta non est. Grave est hoc crimen in Verrem—grave me agente, te accusante nullum; eras enim tu quaestor, pecuniam publicam tu tractabas; ex qua, etiamsi cuperet praetor, tamen ne qua deductio fieret magna ex parte tua potestas erat. Huius quoque igitur criminis te accusante mentio nulla fiet; silebitur toto iudicio de maximis et notissimis illius furtis et iniuriis. Mihi crede, Caecili, non potest in accusando socios vere defendere is qui cum reo criminum societate coniunctus est.

33 Mancipes a civitatibus pro frumento pecuniam exegerunt. Quid? hoc Verre praetore factum est solum? non, sed etiam quaestore Caecilio. Quid igitur? daturus es huic crimini quod et potuisti prohibere ne fieret et debuisti, an totum id relinques? Ergo id omnino Verres in iudicio suo non audiet, quod, cum faciebat, quemadmodum defensurus esset non reperiebat.

XI. Atque ego haec quae in medio posita sunt commemoro: sunt alia magis occulta furta, quae ille, ut istius, credo, animos atque impetus retardaret,
34 benignissime cum quaestore suo communicavit. Haec tu scis ad me esse delata; quae si velim proferre, facile omnes intellegent vobis inter vos non modo

growers: and part of the purchase money has never been paid. This is a serious charge against Verres—serious, that is, if I bring it, but nothing at all, if *you* are to be the prosecutor. For you were his quaestor; you handled this public money; and to a large extent it was in your power to see that none of it was withheld, however anxious your praetor might be to withhold it. Here, then, is another charge, of which, if *you* prosecute, no mention will be made. Throughout the trial not a word will be said about the most serious and notorious of Verres' acts of dishonesty and injustice. Believe me, Caecilius, no man can honestly defend our allies as a prosecutor if he has been the ally and accomplice of the person prosecuted.

Further, the corn-contractors have exacted money 33
from various communities instead of corn. Well, it may be said, has this happened only with Verres as praetor? No, to be sure: also with Caecilius as quaestor. Then, Caecilius, are you likely to include in the charges against him an offence which you could have and should have prevented? Or will you let it pass altogether? So then, Verres at his trial is simply not to hear mentioned a misdeed for which, at the very time when he was committing it, he could think of no possible future defence.

XI. Now these facts to which I refer are all such as have been brought into the light of day. There are other more secret robberies, in which Verres has had the kindness to let his quaestor have a share, no doubt in order to mitigate the violence of his quaestor's animosity against him. You are aware 34
that these latter have been reported to me. If I care to expose them, it will at once be made plain to everyone that your dealings with each other have

voluntatem fuisse coniunctam, sed ne praedam quidem adhuc esse divisam. Quapropter si tibi indicium postulas dari quod tecum una fecerit, concedo, si id lege permittitur; sin autem de accusatione dicimus, concedas oportet iis qui nullo suo peccato impediuntur quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.
35 Ac vide quantum interfuturum sit inter meam tuamque accusationem. Ego etiam quae tu sine Verre commisisti Verri crimini daturus sum, quod te non prohibuerit cum summam ipse haberet potestatem: tu contra ne quae ille quidem fecit obicies, ne qua ex parte coniunctus cum eo reperiare.

Quid? illa, Caecili, contemnendane tibi videntur esse, sine quibus causa sustineri, praesertim tanta, nullo modo potest? aliqua facultas agendi, aliqua dicendi consuetudo, aliqua in foro, iudiciis, legibus
36 aut ratio aut exercitatio? Intellego quam scopuloso difficilique in loco verser. Nam cum omnis arrogantia odiosa est, tum illa ingenii atque eloquentiae multo molestissima. Quam ob rem nihil dico de meo ingenio; neque est quod possim dicere, neque, si esset, dicerem. Aut enim id mihi satis est quod est de me opinionis, quidquid est, aut, si id parum est, ego maius id commemorando facere non possum.

[a] *i.e.*, they trusted each other too well for this to be needed.

not only involved a union of hearts, but not even, as yet, led to a division of plunder.[a] If therefore you demand the right of giving evidence against him about the misdeeds in which you have helped him, I have no objection, if it can legally be done. But if it is the right of prosecution that we are discussing, you must really withdraw in favour of those who are not prevented by their own misconduct from demonstrating the misconduct of others. Do but note the 35
vast difference there will be between your method of prosecution and my own. I shall lay to Verres' account even the wrong things you have done without his help, on the ground that he was in supreme command and yet did not stop your doing them: you, on the other hand, will not even charge him with things he has done himself, for fear of being proved to be more or less his accomplice.

There are other qualities, Caecilius, which you may think of small account, but without which no man can possibly manage any case, and especially not one of this magnitude. He must have some little capacity as a pleader; some little experience as a speaker; some little training either in the principles or in the practice of the Forum, the law-courts, and the law. I am aware that I am here 36
treading on dangerous and difficult ground. Vanity of every kind is disagreeable; but vanity concerning intellectual and oratorical gifts is far more detestable than any other kind. I shall therefore say nothing of my own intellectual capacity. There is nothing I can say, nor, if there were, would I say it. For either the powers, be they more or less, with which I am credited, are sufficient for my purpose; or, if they are not, I can make them no greater than they

37 XII. De te, Caecili—iam mehercule hoc extra hanc contentionem certamenque nostrum familiariter tecum loquar—tu ipse quem ad modum existimes vide etiam atque etiam, et tu te collige, et qui sis et quid facere possis considera. Putasne te posse de maximis acerbissimisque rebus, cum causam sociorum fortunasque provinciae, ius populi Romani, gravitatem iudicii legumque susceperis, tot res tam graves, tam varias, voce, memoria, consilio, ingenio sustinere?
38 Putasne te posse quae C. Verres in quaestura, quae in legatione, quae in praetura, quae Romae, quae in Italia, quae in Achaia Asia Pamphyliaque peccarit, ea, quem ad modum locis temporibusque divisa sint, sic criminibus et oratione distinguere? Putasne te[1] posse, id quod in huius modi reo maxime necessarium est, facere ut quae ille libidinose, quae nefarie, quae crudeliter fecerit, ea aeque acerba et indigna videantur esse his qui audient atque illis visa sunt qui
39 senserunt? Magna sunt ea quae dico, mihi crede; noli haec contemnere. Dicenda, demonstranda, explicanda sunt omnia; causa non solum exponenda, sed etiam graviter copioseque agenda est. Perficiendum est, si quid agere aut perficere vis, ut homines te non solum audiant, verum etiam libenter

[1] te *has no good MS. authority in this place.*

are by talking about them. XII. But as for you, 37
Caecilius—and I would assure you that I am now going to speak to you as one friend to another, without reference to the present competition between us—I earnestly advise you to examine your own mind. Recollect yourself. Think of what you are, and of what you are fit for. This is a formidable and very painful undertaking, which involves the cause of our allies and the welfare of our province, the rights of our own nation, and the authority of our law and our courts of law. These are not light or simple matters to take upon you: have you the powers of voice and memory, have you the intelligence and the ability to sustain such a burden? Think 38
of the crimes that Verres has committed as quaestor, as legate, and as praetor, at Rome and in Italy, in Achaia and Asia and Pamphylia: do you think yourself able to charge him with all these, arranging and distinguishing them properly, according to the times and places at which they respectively occurred? Do you think you can do what is especially necessary in prosecuting a man on such charges as these—make all his acts of lust and impiety and cruelty excite as much pain, and as much indignation, in those who are told of them here, as they excited in those who underwent them there? I assure you, 39
these things of which I tell you are no trifles, and you must not think of them lightly. You have to mention everything, establish every fact, expound everything in full. You have not merely to state your case: you have to develop it with impressive wealth of detail. If you wish to achieve any sort of success, you must not only make people listen to you: you must make them listen with pleasure, with eagerness.

studioseque audiant. In quo si te multum natura adiuvaret; si optimis a pueritia disciplinis atque artibus studuisses, et in his elaborasses; si litteras Graecas Athenis, non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae, non in Sicilia didicisses: tamen esset magnum tantam causam, tam exspectatam, et diligentia consequi et memoria complecti et oratione exponere et voce ac viribus sustinere.

40 Fortasse dices, "Quid ergo? haec in te sunt omnia?" Utinam quidem essent! verum tamen ut esse possent magno studio mihi a pueritia est elaboratum. Quodsi ego haec propter magnitudinem rerum ac difficultatem assequi non potui, qui in omni vita nihil aliud egi, quam longe tu te ab his rebus abesse arbitrare, quas non modo antea numquam cogitasti, sed ne nunc quidem cum in eas ingrederis quae et
41 quantae sint suspicari potes? XIII. Ego, qui, sicut omnes sciunt, in foro iudiciisque ita verser ut eiusdem aetatis aut nemo aut pauci plures causas defenderint, et qui omne tempus quod mihi ab amicorum negotiis datur in his studiis laboribusque consumam, quo paratior ad usum forensem promptiorque esse possim, tamen ita deos mihi velim propitios ut, cum illius temporis mihi venit in mentem quo die citato reo mihi dicendum sit, non solum commoveor animo, sed
42 etiam toto corpore perhorresco. Iam nunc mente et

Even had you the advantage of great natural gifts; had you from boyhood received the best teaching and enjoyed an elaborate and thorough education; had you studied Greek literature at Athens instead of at Lilybaeum, and Latin at Rome instead of in Sicily: even so, with a case of such magnitude, a case that has aroused such wide public interest, it would be hard to find the industry to master it, the memory to remember it, the eloquence to set it forth, and the strength of voice and body to carry it through.

"Well," you may say, "what if it be so? do you 40
then possess all these qualities yourself?" Would that I did, indeed. Still, I have done my best, and worked hard from my boyhood, in order to acquire them if I could. And if the task of acquiring them is so immensely difficult that I, who have devoted my whole life to the pursuit of them, have nevertheless failed, you must see how far *you* are from possessing them—you who have never given them a thought till now, and have no idea of their nature and scope even now, when the time has come to use them.
XIII. Everyone knows that my life has centred 41
round the Forum and the law-courts; that few men, if any, of my age have defended more cases; that all the time I can spare from the business of my friends I spend in the study and hard work that this profession demands, to make myself fitter and readier for forensic practice: yet even I so feel the need of the special favour of heaven, that when I think of the great day when the accused man is summoned to appear and I have to make my speech, I am not merely mentally perturbed but tremble physically
from head to foot. Even now I picture to myself 42

cogitatione prospicio quae tum studia hominum, qui
concursus futuri sint; quantam exspectationem mag-
nitudo iudicii sit allatura; quantam auditorum mul-
titudinem C. Verris infamia concitatura; quantam
denique audientiam orationi meae improbitas illius
factura sit. Quae cum cogito, iam nunc timeo quid-
nam pro offensione hominum qui illi inimici infensique
sunt, et exspectatione omnium et magnitudine rerum,
43 dignum eloqui possim. Tu horum nihil metuis, nihil
cogitas, nihil laboras. Si quid ex vetere aliqua
oratione, *Iovem ego optimum maximum* aut *Vellem, si
fieri potuisset, iudices* aut aliquid eiusmodi, ediscere
potueris, praeclare te paratum in iudicium venturum
arbitraris.

44 Ac si tibi nemo responsurus esset, tamen ipsam
causam, ut ego arbitror, demonstrare non posses.
Nunc ne illud quidem cogitas, tibi cum homine
disertissimo et ad dicendum paratissimo, futurum esse
certamen, quicum modo disserendum, modo omni
ratione pugnandum certandumque sit. Cuius ego
ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam, ita probo ut
me ab eo delectari facilius quam decipi putem posse.
XIV. Numquam ille me opprimet consilio, numquam
ullo artificio pervertet, numquam ingenio me suo
labefactare atque infirmare conabitur. Novi omnes
hominis petitiones rationesque dicendi; saepe in
isdem, saepe in contrariis causis versati sumus. Ita

the excitement and the crowds of people, the breath-
less interest that will be aroused by the importance
of the trial, the vast concourse of hearers which the
evil name of Verres will bring together, the keen
attention which his misconduct will direct to the
speech I make against him. Even now the thought
of all this fills me with dread, and I wonder if I can
possibly make a speech that will satisfy the indigna-
tion of those who abhor and detest the man, or that
will be worthy of the expectations of the public and
the greatness of the occasion. *You* have no such 43
fears, no such thoughts, no such anxieties. You
imagine that, if you can learn by heart a phrase
or two out of some old speech, like "I beseech
almighty and most merciful God" or "I could wish,
gentlemen, had it only been possible," you will be
excellently prepared for your entrance into court.

Even if no one were going to reply to you, I 44
cannot believe that you would be able to establish
your own case. But in fact, though it has not occurred
to you, you will have opposed to you an eloquent
and highly-trained speaker, whom you will at one
time have to meet in argument, and at another to
fall upon and attack with every weapon available.
For myself, I can commend his ability without being
terrified by it; I can admire him, and yet believe it
possible that he will enchant me more easily than
entrap me. XIV. He will never crush me with his
cleverness; he will never lead me astray by any
display of ingenuity; he will never employ his great
powers to weaken and dislodge me from my position.
I am well acquainted with all the gentleman's
methods of attack, and all his oratorical devices. We
have often appeared together, on the same side or on

contra me ille dicet, quamvis sit ingeniosus, ut non-
nullum etiam de suo ingenio iudicium fieri arbitretur.
45 Te vero, Caecili, quem ad modum sit elusurus, quam
omni ratione iactaturus, videre iam videor; quotiens
ille tibi potestatem optionemque facturus sit ut eligas
utrum velis, factum esse necne, verum esse an falsum:
utrum dixeris, id contra te futurum. Qui tibi aestus,
qui error, quae tenebrae, di immortales, erunt
homini minime malo! Quid cum accusationis tuae
membra dividere coeperit, et in digitis suis singulas
partes causae constituere? Quid cum unum quid-
que transigere, expedire, absolvere? Ipse profecto
metuere incipies ne innocenti periculum facessieris.
46 Quid cum commiserari, conqueri et ex illius invidia
deonerare aliquid et in te traicere coeperit? com-
memorare quaestoris cum praetore necessitudinem
constitutam, morem maiorum, sortis religionem—
poterisne eius orationis subire invidiam? Vide modo,
etiam atque etiam considera. Mihi enim videtur
periculum fore ne ille non modo verbis te obruat, sed
gestu ipso ac motu corporis praestringat aciem in-
genii tui, teque ab institutis tuis cogitationibusque
47 abducat. Atque huiusce rei iudicium iam continuo

opposing sides. However capable he may be, he will
feel, when he comes to speak against me, that the trial
is among other things a trial of his own capacity.
But as for you, Caecilius, I can see already, in my 45
mind's eye, how he will outwit you, and make sport
of you in a hundred ways; how often he will give
you the fullest freedom to choose between two
alternatives—that a thing has or has not happened,
that a statement is true or false; and how, which-
ever you choose, your choice will tell against you.
Heaven help you, poor innocent, how you will be
confused, and distracted, and befogged! Think of
it, when he begins to subdivide your speech for the
prosecution, and tick off with his fingers the separate
sections of your case! Think of it, when he pro-
ceeds to smash them up, and clear them away, and
polish them off one after the other! Upon my word,
you will begin to feel alarmed yourself at the thought
that you may have set out to bring ruin upon an
innocent man. Think of it when he begins to be- 46
wail his client's unhappy condition: to lighten the
load of prejudice against Verres, and shift a portion
of it on to your own back: to remind us of the close
personal tie between a quaestor and his chief, of our
national tradition in this matter and the solemn
obligation the lot imposes upon them. Can you face
the hostility that such arguments will arouse against
you? Take care, take care: consider the danger,
I beg and implore you. I cannot help feeling the
risk that he will not only beat you down with his
arguments, but dazzle and confuse your senses with
his mere gestures and bodily movements, till he has
made you abandon the whole of your intended line
of action. I note, by the way, that we shall almost 47

video futurum. Si enim mihi hodie respondere ad haec quae dico potueris, si ab isto libro, quem tibi magister ludi nescio qui ex alienis orationibus compositum dedit, verbo uno discesseris, posse te et illi quoque iudicio non deesse et causae atque officio tuo satisfacere arbitrabor. Sin mecum in hac prolusione nihil fueris, quem te in ipsa pugna cum acerrimo adversario fore putemus?

XV. Esto; ipse nihil est, nihil potest: at venit paratus cum subscriptoribus exercitatis et disertis Est tamen hoc aliquid, tametsi non est satis; omnibus enim rebus is qui princeps in agendo est ornatissimus et paratissimus esse debet. Verum tamen L. Appuleium esse video proximum subscriptorem, hominem non aetate sed usu forensi atque exercitatione tiro-
48 nem. Deinde, ut opinor, habet T.[1] Alienum, hunc tamen ab subselliis; qui quid in dicendo posset, numquam satis attendi; in clamando quidem video eum esse bene robustum atque exercitatum. In hoc spes tuae sunt omnes; hic, si tu eris actor constitutus, totum iudicium sustinebit. At ne is quidem tantum contendet in dicendo quantum potest, sed consulet laudi et existimationi tuae, et ex eo quod ipse potest in dicendo aliquantum remittet, ut tu tamen aliquid

[1] habet Alienum *MSS.*: *E. F. Eberhard conjectures the loss of* T., *caused by* habet *preceding.*

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[a] *Subsellium* may be any seat in a court. Alienus began his career as a *claqueur.*

immediately be able to settle this question. If you show yourself to-day able to reply to what I am now saying; if you use one single expression that is not contained in the book of extracts from other people's speeches with which some schoolmaster has presented you: then I will allow it possible that you will not be a failure at the trial too, but do justice to the case and your responsible part in it. But if you come to nothing in this preliminary skirmish with me, how can we expect you to stand up against your furious opponent in the actual battle itself?

XV. Very well, Caecilius himself is nothing and counts for nothing; but it is suggested that he comes provided with experienced and eloquent supporters. That is certainly something, though not enough: the man who is in chief charge of a case ought to be thoroughly well prepared and well equipped himself. Still, who are these supporters of his? Lucius Appuleius, I see, is the first of them: and he, though not young in years, is the rawest beginner so far as forensic training and forensic ex-
perience go. The next, I take it, is Titus Alienus; 48
well, he gets even him from the spectators' seats[a]; nor have I ever observed at all carefully what his powers as a speaker may be, though I am certainly aware that he is a powerful and well-trained shouter. He is the mainstay of your hopes; if you are appointed to conduct the case, it is he who will have to bear the full weight of it. And even so, he will not be able to exert his full powers as a speaker. He will have to think of *your* credit and *your* reputation. He will be forgoing some of the success he might achieve by his own speech, in order that you may not, in spite of everything, be a complete failure.

esse videare. Ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus,
saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium,
cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse pri-
marum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quam
maxime excellat: sic faciet Alienus; tibi serviet,
tibi lenocinabitur, minus aliquanto contendet quam
49 potest. Iam hoc considerate, cuius modi accusatores
in tanto iudicio simus habituri, cum et ipse Alienus
ex ea facultate, si quam habet, aliquantum detrac-
turus sit, et Caecilius tum denique se aliquid futurum
putet si Alienus minus vehemens fuerit et sibi primas
in dicendo partes concesserit. Quartum quem sit
habiturus non video, nisi quem forte ex illo grege
moratorum qui subscriptionem sibi postularunt cui-
50 cumque vos delationem dedissetis; ex quibus alie-
nissimis hominibus ita paratus venis ut tibi hospes
aliquis sit recipiendus. Quibus ego non sum tantum
honorem habiturus ut ad ea quae dixerint certo loco
aut singillatim uni cuique respondeam; sic breviter,
quoniam non consulto sed casu in eorum mentionem
incidi, quasi praeteriens satisfaciam universis. XVI.
Tantane vobis inopia videor esse amicorum ut mihi
non ex his quos mecum adduxerim, sed de populo,
subscriptor addatur? vobis autem tanta inopia reo-
rum est ut mihi causam praeripere conemini, potius

We know how Greek actors behave on the stage;
very commonly the man who has the second or third
part could speak a good deal more loudly and clearly
than the man who has the first part, but lowers his
voice considerably, in order that the superiority of
the chief actor may be as pronounced as possible.
That is what Alienus will be doing. He will sub-
ordinate himself to you, and play up to you, and
exert himself considerably less than he might. Now 49
let me ask this court to consider the sort of pro-
secutors we are likely to have in this important trial,
if Alienus himself is going to withhold from us a
good part of such capacity as he does possess, and
Caecilius can hope to have any sort of success him-
self only if Alienus moderates his own energy and
hands over the chief part as orator to *him*. Whom
he is likely to find as fourth speaker I cannot
imagine, unless it is to be one of that gang of ob-
structionists who applied for the right of supporting
the chosen prosecutor whoever he might be: worse 50
aliens than Alienus, but Caecilius comes here in such
a condition that he will have to extend his hospitality
to one of them. I shall not pay them the compliment
of reserving a definite part of my speech in which to
deal with their observations, nor shall I reply to each
of them separately. I had no intention of referring
to them at all, and I have done so quite by accident;
and I shall therefore dispose of them in a few passing
words. XVI. Do they suppose I am so badly off for
friends, that I must be furnished with a supporter
from the street instead of from among the gentle-
men whom I have brought here with me? And are
they so badly off for persons to accuse that they
must try to snatch my own case out of my hands,

quam aliquos ad columnam Maeniam vestri ordinis reos reperiatis? "Custodem," inquit, "Tullio me
51 apponite." Quid? mihi quam multis custodibus opus erit, si te semel ad meas capsas admisero? qui non solum ne quid enunties, sed etiam ne quid auferas, custodiendus sis. Sed de isto custode toto sic vobis brevissime respondebo: non esse hos tales viros commissuros ut ad causam tantam, a me susceptam, mihi creditam, quisquam subscriptor me invito aspirare possit; etenim fides mea custodem repudiat, diligentia speculatorem reformidat.

52 Verum ut ad te, Caecili, redeam: quam multa te deficiant vides; quam multa sint in te quae reus nocens in accusatore suo cupiat esse profecto iam intellegis. Quid ad haec dici potest? Non enim quaero quid tu dicturus sis; video mihi non te sed hunc librum esse responsurum, quem monitor tuus hic tenet: qui, si te recte monere volet, suadebit tibi ut hinc discedas neque mihi verbum ullum respondeas. Quid enim dices? an id quod dictitas, iniuriam tibi fecisse Verrem? Arbitror; neque enim esset veri simile, cum omnibus Siculis faceret iniurias, te illi
53 unum eximium cui consuleret fuisse. Sed ceteri Siculi ultorem suarum iniuriarum invenerunt: tu,

[a] In the Forum: presumably a lounging-place of the "lower orders."

instead of finding themselves victims of their own social standing in the neighbourhood of the Maenian Column[a]? "Set me to keep watch on Tullius," says one of them. Upon my word, I shall want a 51
good many people to keep watch, if I ever let *you* have access to my cupboards. *You* will certainly want watching, or you will not only let out my secrets but go off with my property. However, in answer to these gentlemen's proposal to watch me, a few words will be enough. This great case has been undertaken by me and entrusted to me: and a court of the present character is not likely to allow anyone to aspire to the honour of assisting me as prosecutor, unless I am willing to have him: the fact being that my integrity repudiates the need for watchers, and my caution warns me against spies.

But to return to yourself, Caecilius. You see how 52
many qualifications you lack: you must certainly by this time be aware how much you are what any guilty man would wish his prosecutor to be. Well, what reply can be made to all this? Note that I do not ask what reply *you* are likely to make. I know well that your reply will not come from you, but from that book which I see in the hands of your adviser there, who, if he wants to give you a really good piece of advice, will insist on your leaving the court without attempting a single word in reply to me. For what reply will you make? Perhaps what you are always repeating, that Verres has wronged you. I can well believe that. He has wronged everyone in Sicily, and it would be too much to expect that he should make you a special exception by forwarding your interests. But while the rest of 53
the Sicilians have found themselves a man to avenge

dum tuas iniurias per te, id quod non potes, persequi conaris, id agis ut ceterorum quoque iniuriae sint impunitae atque inultae. Et hoc te praeterit, non id solum spectari solere, qui debeat, sed etiam illud, qui possit ulcisci; in quo utrumque sit, eum superiorem esse; in quo alterutrum,[1] in eo non quid is
54 velit, sed quid facere possit, quaeri solere. Quod si ei potissimum censes permitti oportere accusandi potestatem cui maximam C. Verres iniuriam fecerit: utrum tandem censes hoc iudices gravius ferre oportere, te ab illo esse laesum, an provinciam Siciliam esse vexatam ac perditam? Opinor, concedes multo hoc et esse gravius et ab omnibus ferri gravius oportere. Concede igitur ut tibi anteponatur in accusando provincia; nam provincia accusat, cum is agit causam quem sibi illa defensorem sui iuris, ultorem iniuriarum, actorem causae totius adoptavit.

55 XVII. At eam tibi C. Verres fecit iniuriam quae ceterorum quoque animos posset alieno incommodo commovere. Minime. Nam id quoque ad rem pertinere arbitror, qualis iniuria dicatur quae causa inimicitiarum proferatur. Cognoscite ex me; nam iste eam profecto, nisi plane nihil sapit, numquam proferet. Agonis quaedam est Lilybaetana,[2] liberta

[1] alterutrum *Peterson with the best* MSS.: alterum *some* MSS. *and most editors.*
[2] *Peterson, with good* MS. *and archaeological support, reads* Lilybitana.

their wrongs, you are trying to get satisfaction yourself for your own, a thing which you cannot do, and in attempting which you are going the right way to prevent also the infliction of punishment and vengeance for the wrongs of all the others. You forget that it is usual for people to ask not merely who should, but also who can, avenge them. The man who has both qualities is better than any other; but if a man has only one of these things, it is usual to inquire rather what he can do than what he would like to do. If, however, you really think that the 54
right to prosecute Verres should be conceded to the greatest sufferer from his wrongdoing, which fact, after all, do you think should excite the greater indignation in the minds of this court—that he has injured you, or that he has ravaged and ruined our province of Sicily? You will, I presume, allow that the latter is the more serious, and deserves to excite, in every mind, the more serious indignation. You must therefore also allow the province to have preference over you in the privilege of prosecuting—for the province it is that prosecutes, when her case is conducted by the man whom she has definitely chosen to maintain her rights, to avenge her wrongs, and to conduct her case throughout.

XVII. You may object that the wrong Verres 55
has done you is serious enough to stir deeply the feelings of all others, even though it does not touch them directly. I deny this. It is not, I take it, beside the point to ask what sort of wrong is alleged as the reason for a personal enmity. I will therefore tell the court what the wrong is: for unless Caecilius is a downright fool he will certainly never allege it himself. There is a certain woman of Lily-

Veneris Erycinae, quae mulier ante hunc quaestorem copiosa plane et locuples fuit. Ab hac praefectus Antonii quidam symphoniacos servos abducebat per iniuriam, quibus se in classe uti velle dicebat. Tum illa, ut mos in Sicilia est omnium Veneriorum et eorum qui a Venere se liberaverunt, ut praefecto illi religionem Veneris nomine obiceret, dixit et se et
56 sua Veneris esse. Ubi hoc quaestori Caecilio, viro optimo et homini aequissimo, nuntiatum est, vocari ad se Agonidem iubet: iudicium dat statim *Si paret eam se et sua Veneris esse dixisse*. Iudicant recuperatores id quod necesse erat; neque enim erat cuiquam dubium quin illa dixisset. Iste in possessionem bonorum mulieris intrat; ipsam Veneri in servitutem adiudicat; deinde bona vendit, pecuniam redigit. Ita dum pauca mancipia Veneris nomine Agonis ac religione retinere vult, fortunas omnes libertatemque suam istius iniuria perdidit. Lilybaeum Verres venit postea; rem cognoscit, factum improbat; cogit quaestorem suum pecuniam, quam ex Agonidis bonis redegisset, eam mulieri omnem adnumerare et red-
57 dere. Est adhuc, id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres sed Q. Mucius. Quid enim facere potuit

[a] The father of Mark Antony. He had a general commission to suppress piracy.
[b] In these formulae, the apodosis of the *si* clause is *condemnato*.
[c] Or possibly "into the public account."
[d] Q. Mucius Scaevola, the eminent jurist, proconsular governor of Asia 94 B.C., where his just rule made his name a synonym for an upright governor.

baeum, named Agonis, formerly a slave of Venus of Eryx. This woman, in the days before Caecilius was quaestor, had very considerable wealth and property. An admiral serving under Antonius[a] wronged her by carrying off a number of her slave musicians, whom he said he required for service in the navy. She thereupon followed the regular practice of those Sicilians who belong to Venus, or who having belonged to her have since become free. She used the name of Venus to make the admiral afraid of committing sacrilege, and stated that she, and all that belonged to her, were the property of
the goddess. When this was reported to Caecilius 56
as quaestor, that excellent man and paragon of justice sent for Agonis, and at once appointed a court with instructions to decide "Whether[b] she was guilty of having said that she and her property were the property of Venus." The members of the court gave the only decision possible: for no one had the least doubt that Agonis had spoken thus. Caecilius took possession of the woman's property, and adjudged the woman herself to be the slave of Venus: then he sold her property, and paid the money he got for it into his account.[c] Thus Agonis, just for using the sacred name of Venus in order to keep possession of a few slaves, was most unjustly deprived by Caecilius of all her property, and of her freedom as well. Later on, Verres arrived at Lilybaeum. He investigated the matter, annulled the judgement, and obliged his quaestor to pay over to Agonis the full sum he had realized by the sale of her
property. So far, as I see you all note with sur- 57
prise, Verres is not Verres but a perfect Scaevola.[d] Could he have added more gracefully to his public

elegantius ad hominum existimationem, aequius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem, vehementius ad quaestoris libidinem coercendam? Summe haec omnia mihi videntur esse laudanda. Sed repente e vestigio ex homine tamquam aliquo Circaeo poculo factus est Verres; redit ad se atque ad mores suos. Nam ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad se vertit,[1] mulieri reddidit quantulum visum est.

58 XVIII. Hic tu si laesum te a Verre esse dices, patiar et concedam: si iniuriam tibi factam quereris, defendam et negabo. Denique de iniuria quae tibi facta sit neminem nostrum graviorem vindicem esse oportet quam te ipsum cui facta dicitur. Si tu cum illo postea in gratiam redisti, si domi illius aliquotiens fuisti, si ille apud te postea cenavit, utrum te perfidiosum an praevaricatorem existimari mavis? Video esse necesse alterutrum; sed ego tecum in eo non
59 pugnabo quo minus utrum velis eligas. Quodsi ne iniuriae quidem quae tibi ab illo facta sit causa remanet, quid habes quod possis dicere quam ob rem non modo mihi, sed cuiquam, anteponare? Nisi forte illud, quod dicturum te esse audio, quaestorem illius fuisse. Quae causa gravis esset, si certares mecum uter nostrum illi amicior esse deberet: in contentione suscipiendarum inimicitiarum ridiculum est putare causam necessitudinis ad inferendum periculum ius-

[1] *The MS. reading*: avertit, verrit, averrit *have been suggested.*

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[a] *Verres* means "boar."

reputation, or relieved a poor woman in distress more equitably, or checked his wanton subordinate more energetically? The whole of his actions here seem to deserve the highest commendation. But suddenly, as though he had drunk of Circe's goblet, he turned in one flash from a man into a Verres,[a] became the hog that his name suggests, and resumed his proper character. He appropriated a considerable part of that sum of money, only returning a modest fraction to the woman herself.

XVIII. Now if you maintain that in this matter 58
Verres has injured you, very good; I will allow that. But if you complain that he has done you a wrong, I say no, he has not. And finally, if any wrong has been done you, none of us should resent the matter more gravely than yourself, the alleged sufferer. But if you subsequently made friends with him again, if you visited him several times at his house, if later he dined with you—well, which would you have us consider you, a traitor to your friend or a traitor to justice? One or the other it is plain to me you must be: but I do not propose to argue the point with you—you may choose which alternative you will.

Now if your plea that Verres has wronged you 59
fails as the others have failed, what good reason can you produce for being preferred to me, or indeed to anyone? Possibly one that I am told you do intend to produce, the fact that you were his quaestor. Such a reason would have much force, if the dispute between us were as to which of us was bound to have the more friendly feelings towards him. But we are in fact competing for the right of attacking him as an enemy; and it is absurd to suppose that a good reason for behaving to him as a friend can also be

60 tam videri oportere. Etenim si plurimas a tuo
praetore iniurias accepisses, tamen eas ferendo maio-
rem laudem quam ulciscendo mererere; cum vero
nullum illius in vita rectius factum sit quam id quod
tu iniuriam appellas, hi statuent hanc causam, quam
ne in alio quidem probarent, in te iustam ad necessi-
tudinem violandam videri? Qui si summam iniuriam
ab illo accepisti, tamen, quoniam quaestor eius fuisti,
non potes eum sine ulla vituperatione accusare; si
vero non ulla tibi facta est iniuria, sine scelere eum
accusare non potes. Quare, cum incertum sit de
iniuria, quemquam esse horum putas qui non malit te
sine vituperatione quam cum scelere discedere?

61 XIX. Ac vide quid differat inter meam opinionem
ac tuam. Tu cum omnibus rebus inferior sis, hac una
in re te mihi anteferri putas oportere, quod quaestor
illius fueris: ego, si superior ceteris rebus esses, hanc
unam ob causam te accusatorem repudiari putarem
oportere. Sic enim a maioribus nostris accepimus,
praetorem quaestori suo parentis loco esse oportere;
nullam neque iustiorem neque graviorem causam
necessitudinis posse reperiri quam coniunctionem
sortis, quam provinciae, quam officii, quam publici
62 muneris societatem. Quam ob rem si iure eum posses
accusare, tamen, cum is tibi parentis numero fuisset,

a good reason for attempting to secure his downfall.
The truth is that even if your praetor had done you 60
a number of wrongs, you would gain yourself more
credit by bearing them patiently than by seeking
revenge for them: and since he has, in point of fact,
never in all his life behaved better than when he
did you what you call a wrong, how can this court
hold that a reason which they would not admit valid
even for someone else can justify you in being false
to a personal obligation? Even if he has wronged you
deeply, yet, having been his quaestor, you cannot
prosecute him without incurring some blame: and if
he has not wronged you at all, you cannot prosecute
him without incurring criminal guilt. Consequently,
the alleged wrong not being proved, can you imagine
that there is any member of this court who would
not rather you came out of the affair free from
blame than guilty of a crime?

XIX. Just think how very differently you and I 61
regard this matter. You, who are worse qualified
than myself in all other respects, hold that your claim
is better than mine, on the sole ground that you
have been Verres' quaestor: I should hold, even if
you were better qualified in all other respects, that
your claim to prosecute should be rejected on this
one ground alone. We have inherited from our
ancestors the tradition that a praetor and his quaestor
must be like father and son; that no tie of friend-
ship can be imagined more inevitable and more
solemnly binding than their close association in the
sphere of duty which the lot assigns them and their
intimate connexion as servants of the public. It 62
follows that, as Verres has stood in a parental relation
towards you, you could not prosecute him without

id pie facere non posses; cum vero neque iniuriam acceperis et praetori tuo periculum crees, fatearis necesse est te illi iniustum impiumque bellum inferre conari. Etenim ista quaestura ad eam rem valet, ut elaborandum tibi in ratione reddenda sit quam ob rem eum cui quaestor fueris accuses, non ut ob eam ipsam causam postulandum sit ut tibi potissimum accusatio detur. Neque fere umquam venit in contentionem de accusando qui quaestor fuisset, quin
63 repudiaretur. Itaque neque L. Philoni in C. Servilium nominis deferendi potestas est data, neque M. Aurelio Scauro in L. Flaccum, neque Cn. Pompeio in T. Albucium; quorum nemo propter indignitatem repudiatus est, sed ne libido violandae necessitudinis auctoritate iudicum comprobaretur. Atque ille Cn. Pompeius ita cum C. Iulio contendit ut tu mecum; quaestor enim Albucii fuerat, ut tu Verris; Iulius hoc secum auctoritatis ad accusandum afferebat, quod, ut hoc tempore nos ab Siculis, sic tum ille ab Sardis rogatus ad causam accesserat.

Semper haec causa plurimum valuit, semper haec ratio accusandi fuit honestissima, pro sociis, pro salute provinciae, pro exterarum nationum commodis inimicitias suscipere, ad periculum accedere, operam,

being guilty of unnatural conduct, even though you were legally justified in doing so: and since you are in fact trying to secure the downfall of your own superior officer without his having wronged you at all, you cannot deny that your intended assault upon him is both unnatural and unjust. Indeed the effect of your quaestorship is to make it exceedingly hard for you to justify your prosecuting the man whose quaestor you were, and not to constitute a ground for your claiming to be specially selected as his prosecutor. Hardly ever has a man's quaestor competed for the right of prosecuting him and not been rejected. For this reason Lucius Philo was not 63
allowed to prosecute Gaius Servilius; Marcus Aurelius Scaurus was not allowed to prosecute Lucius Flaccus; Gnaeus Pompeius was not allowed to prosecute Titus Albucius. None of them were rejected because they were thought incapable: the court's object was to avoid endorsing, with its authority, the wilful disregard of the obligations of friendship. I may remark that the competition between Gnaeus Pompeius and Gaius Julius was much like the present one between you and myself. For Pompeius had been quaestor to Albucius, just as you have been quaestor to Verres: and Julius as prosecutor was much strengthened by having undertaken his case at the request of the Sardinians, just as I have undertaken mine at the request of the Sicilians.

No prosecutor has ever been held to be better justified, nor to have more honourable reasons for his action, than when he has incurred hostility, faced danger, and spared himself neither pains nor enthusiasm nor hard work, in behalf of our allies, in defence

64 studium, laborem interponere. XX. Etenim si probabilis est eorum causa qui iniurias suas persequi volunt—qua in re dolori suo, non rei publicae commodis serviunt—, quanto illa causa honestior, quae non solum probabilis videri sed etiam grata esse debet, nulla privatim accepta iniuria sociorum atque amicorum populi Romani dolore atque iniuriis commoveri? Nuper cum in P. Gabinium vir fortissimus et innocentissimus L. Piso delationem nominis postularet, et contra Q. Caecilius peteret, isque se veteres inimicitias iam diu susceptas persequi diceret, cum auctoritas et dignitas Pisonis valebat plurimum, tum illa erat causa iustissima, quod eum sibi Achaei patronum adoptarant.

65 Etenim cum lex ipsa de pecuniis repetundis sociorum atque amicorum populi Romani patrona sit, iniquum est non eum legis iudiciique actorem idoneum maxime putari quem actorem causae suae socii defensoremque fortunarum suarum potissimum esse voluerunt. An quod ad commemorandum est honestius, id ad probandum non multo videri debet aequius? Utra igitur est splendidior, utra illustrior commemoratio, "Accusavi eum cui quaestor fueram, quicum me sors consuetudoque maiorum, quicum me deorum hominumque iudicium coniunxerat" an

of our dominions or for the good of foreign peoples. XX. The truth is that the motive of a man who 64 seeks to avenge his own wrongs may be unobjectionable, though he is then prompted by his own resentment, and not by desire for his country's good; but surely the motive is far nobler, surely it should be felt not merely unobjectionable but welcome, when a man who has suffered no personal wrong is moved to indignation by the wrongs and miseries inflicted upon our nation's allies and friends. Not along ago that gallant and honourable gentleman Lucius Piso applied for the right to prosecute Publius Gabinius. Quintus Caecilius, making a counter-application, said that he was prompted thereto by the personal enmity that had long existed between him and Gabinius. The personal influence and character of Piso had much to do with his success: still, the strongest reason was that the Achaeans had chosen him as their champion.

After all, the Extortion Law itself is meant to 65 champion the allies and friends of the Roman nation; surely, therefore, when our allies have decided that they wish for a particular man to conduct their case and defend their interests for them, the merest justice requires us to believe that that man is the right one to conduct the case in court. Can it be denied that the more creditable motive for a man to mention is far the stronger argument in support of his plea? Very well then, which of these two motives is the more creditable and distinguished for a man to mention? "I prosecuted the man whom I served as quaestor, with whom I was associated intimately by the verdict of the lot, by ancient tradition, by the solemn judgement of heaven and earth?" or "I prosecuted

"Accusavi rogatu sociorum atque amicorum, delectus sum ab universa provincia qui eius iura fortunasque defenderem"? Dubitare quisquam potest quin honestius sit eorum causa apud quos quaestor fueris, quam eum cuius quaestor fueris accusare?

66 Clarissimi viri nostrae civitatis temporibus optimis
hoc sibi amplissimum pulcherrimumque ducebant, ab
hospitibus clientibusque suis, ab exteris nationibus
quae in amicitiam populi Romani dicionemque essent,
iniurias propulsare eorumque fortunas defendere.
M. Catonem illum Sapientem, clarissimum virum et
prudentissimum, cum multis graves inimicitias ges-
sisse accepimus propter Hispanorum, apud quos con-
67 sul fuerat, iniurias. Nuper Cn. Domitium scimus
M. Silano diem dixisse propter unius hominis, Aegri-
tomari, paterni amici atque hospitis, iniurias. XXI.
Neque enim magis animos hominum nocentium res
umquam ulla commovit quam haec maiorum con-
suetudo longo intervallo repetita ac relata, sociorum
querimoniae delatae ad hominem non inertissimum,
susceptae ab eo qui videbatur eorum fortunas fide
68 diligentiaque sua posse defendere. Hoc timent
homines; hoc laborant; hoc institui, atque adeo
institutum referri ac renovari, moleste ferunt. Putant
fore uti, si paulatim haec consuetudo serpere ac
prodire coeperit, per homines honestissimos virosque
fortissimos, non imperitos adulescentulos aut illius

him at the request of our allies and friends, I was chosen by the entire province to protect its rights and interests." Is there room for doubt, that it is more creditable in a prosecutor to be *helping* the people *among* whom he served, than to be *attacking* the man *under* whom he served?

The most eminent men in the country, during the 66
best period of our history, counted it among their
most honourable and splendid achievements to protect
from injury, and to maintain in prosperity, those
guests and retainers of theirs, the foreign nations
who had been received as friends into the Roman
Empire. That wise and distinguished man Marcus
Cato Sapiens, history tells us, made many bitter
and lasting enemies by standing up for the un-
fortunate Spaniards, among whom he had served as
consul. More recently, we may remember, Gnaeus 67
Domitius prosecuted Marcus Silanus in connexion
with the wrongs of a single friend and guest of his
father's, one Aegritomarus. XXI. Nothing, indeed,
has ever alarmed the tyrant and oppressor more
than the revival and reintroduction, after long
disuse, of this tradition of our forefathers, by which
our allies' grievances have been brought before a
man not notably inactive, and taken up by a man
whom they believed honourable and painstaking
enough to defend their interests successfully. It is 68
just this that is causing, in certain quarters, alarm
and anxiety. It is just this custom the introduction
of which is resented, or rather—for it was introduced
before—its recovery and renewal. They anticipate
that, with its gradual extension and advance, the law
and the law-courts will pass into the hands of honour-
able and fearless gentlemen, and out of the hands

modi quadruplatores, leges iudiciaque administrentur.
69 Cuius consuetudinis atque instituti patres maioresque nostros non paenitebat tum cum P. Lentulus, is qui princeps senatus fuit, accusabat M'. Aquilium subscriptore C. Rutilio Rufo, aut cum P. Africanus, homo virtute, fortuna, gloria, rebus gestis amplissimus, posteaquam bis consul et censor fuerat, L. Cottam in iudicium vocabat. Iure tum florebat populi Romani nomen; iure auctoritas huius imperii civitatisque maiestas gravis habebatur. Nemo mirabatur in Africano illo, quod in me nunc, homine parvis opibus ac facultatibus praedito, simulant sese mirari,
70 cum moleste ferunt: "Quid sibi iste vult? accusatoremne se existimari, qui antea defendere consueverat, nunc praesertim, ea iam aetate, cum aedilitatem petat?" Ego vero et aetatis non modo meae sed multo etiam superioris et honoris amplissimi puto esse et accusare improbos et miseros calamitososque defendere. Et profecto aut hoc remedium est aegrotae ac prope desperatae rei publicae, iudiciisque corruptis ac contaminatis paucorum vitio ac turpitudine, homines ad legum defensionem iudiciorumque auctoritatem quam honestissimos et integerrimos diligentissimosque accedere; aut, si ne hoc quidem prodesse

of raw youths and profit-hunters like our friends yonder. This custom, this practice, was the pride 69
of our fathers and grandfathers, in the days when Publius Lentulus, senior member of the Senate, prosecuted Manius Aquilius, and Gaius Rutilius Rufus supported him; the days when Lucius Cotta was summoned to stand his trial by Publius Africanus, at a time when that great and fortunate man had already been consul twice, and also censor, and was at the zenith of his brilliant and successful career. In those days this country had a great name, and deserved to have it: the importance and prestige of the Roman empire were, and deserved to be, tremendous. No one thought it strange then that Africanus should do what people to-day pretend to think strange when done by a man of such moderate wealth and modest capacity as myself. "What is 70
that fellow up to?" they grumble. "He has always been on the side of the defence so far: why does he want to get a reputation as a prosecutor, particularly now that he is old enough to be a candidate for the aedileship?" Well, I hold that the prosecution of bad men, and the defence of those in misery and distress, is appropriate to men of my own age, and to men far older than I am; I hold that it is appropriate to men holding the highest offices in the country. And most surely, now that our public life is in a state of serious and almost fatal decay, and the degraded villainy of certain members of our courts has infected and contaminated them as a whole, either the remedy is that the most honourable, incorruptible, and industrious men available should come forward to defend our laws and uphold our courts; or else, if even this can do

poterit, profecto nulla umquam medicina his tot
71 incommodis reperietur. Nulla salus rei publicae maior est quam eos qui alterum accusant non minus de laude, de honore, de fama sua quam illos qui accusantur de capite ac fortunis suis pertimescere. Itaque semper ii diligentissime laboriosissimeque accusarunt qui se ipsos in discrimen existimationis venire arbitrati sunt.

XXII. Quam ob rem hoc statuere, iudices, debetis, Q. Caecilium, de quo nulla umquam opinio fuerit nullaque in hoc ipso iudicio exspectatio futura sit, qui neque ut ante collectam famam conservet neque uti reliqui temporis spem confirmet laborat, non nimis hanc causam severe, non nimis accurate, non nimis diligenter acturum. Habet enim nihil quod in offensione deperdat; ut turpissime flagitiosissimeque discedat, nihil de suis veteribus ornamentis requiret.
72 A nobis multos obsides habet populus Romanus, quos ut incolumes conservare, tueri, confirmare ac recuperare possimus, omni ratione erit dimicandum. Habet honorem quem petimus; habet spem quam propositam nobis habemus; habet existimationem multo sudore, labore vigiliisque collectam; ut, si in hac causa nostrum officium ac diligentiam probaverimus, haec quae dixi retinere per populum Romanum incolumia ac salva possimus; si tantulum offensum titubatumque sit, ut ea quae singillatim ac diu collecta

no good, then most surely no cure for all these
grave evils can ever be devised. Nothing can form 71
a better safeguard of the country's interests, than that the prosecutor should be as deeply concerned for his credit and honour as the man he prosecutes is concerned for his life and property. That is why the most energetic and painstaking prosecutors have always been men who feel that their own reputations are at stake.

XXII. Therefore, gentlemen, the conclusion forced upon you is this. No one has ever thought anything of Quintus Caecilius, and no one will have any expectation of him in the present case. He has no earlier reputation that he is anxious to preserve, no hope for the future that he is concerned to justify. He is consequently not likely to display any great severity, or any great care, or any great industry, in handling this case. For he has nothing to lose if he fails: he may come out of the business branded as an infamous scoundrel, and yet not find that he
has lost any of his former distinctions. I have given 72
many hostages to the Roman people; and if I am to preserve them unharmed, to protect them, to secure them, to have them restored to me, I must fight with every weapon at my disposal. What are these hostages? The office to which I seek election; the ambition that I cherish in my heart; the reputation which I have risen early and toiled in the heat to gain. If I can show, in this case, that I have done my duty to the best of my power, I shall, by the favour of my countrymen, be able to keep those precious things unharmed and safe. But I have only to fail, only to take one little false step, and I shall lose in a moment all the good things that I have acquired,

73 sunt uno tempore universa perdamus. Quapropter, iudices, vestrum est deligere quem existimetis facillime posse magnitudinem causae ac iudicii sustinere fide, diligentia, consilio, auctoritate. Vos si mihi Q. Caecilium anteposueritis, ego me dignitate superatum non arbitrabor: populus Romanus ne tam honestam, tam severam diligentemque accusationem neque vobis placuisse neque ordini vestro placere arbitretur, providete.

one by one, through a long period of years. It 73
rests with you, then, gentlemen, to choose the man whom you think best qualified by good faith, industry, sagacity and weight of character to maintain this great case before this great court. If you give Quintus Caecilius the preference over me, I shall not think I have been beaten by the better man: but Rome may think that an honourable, strict, and energetic prosecutor like myself was not what you desired, and not what Senators ever would desire. Gentlemen, see that this does not happen.

IN C. VERREM ACTIO PRIMA

1 I. Quod erat optandum maxime, iudices, et quod unum ad invidiam vestri ordinis infamiamque iudiciorum sedandam maxime pertinebat, id non humano consilio sed prope divinitus datum atque oblatum vobis summo reipublicae tempore videtur. Inveteravit enim iam opinio perniciosa reipublicae nobisque periculosa, quae non modo Romae sed etiam apud exteras nationes omnium sermone percrebruit, his iudiciis quae nunc sunt pecuniosum hominem, quam-
2 vis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari. Nunc in ipso discrimine ordinis iudiciorumque vestrorum, cum sint parati qui contionibus et legibus hanc invidiam senatus inflammare conentur, reus in iudicium adductus est C. Verres, homo vita atque factis omnium iam opinione damnatus, pecuniae magnitudine sua spe ac praedicatione absolutus. Huic ego causae, iudices, cum summa voluntate et exspectatione populi Romani actor accessi, non ut augerem invidiam

FIRST PART OF THE SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES AT THE FIRST HEARING

I. Gentlemen of the Court: At this great political 1
crisis, there seems to have been offered to you, not through man's wisdom but almost as the direct gift of heaven, the very thing that was most to be desired; a thing that will help, more than anything else, to mitigate the unpopularity of your Order and the discredit attaching to these Courts of Law. A belief has by this time established itself, as harmful to the whole nation as it is perilous to yourselves, and everywhere expressed not merely by our own people but by foreigners as well: the belief that these Courts, constituted as they now are, will never convict any man, however guilty, if only he has money. And now, at the moment of supreme 2
danger for your Order and your judicial privileges, when preparations have been made for an attempt, by means of public meetings and proposals for legislation, to fan the flames of senatorial unpopularity, Gaius Verres appears, to stand his trial before you: a man already condemned, in the world's opinion, by his life and deeds; already acquitted, according to his own confident assertions, by his vast fortune. In this case, gentlemen, I appear as prosecutor, backed by the strong approval and keen interest of the nation; not to increase the un-

ordinis, sed ut infamiae communi succurrerem. Adduxi enim hominem in quo reconciliare existimationem iudiciorum amissam, redire in gratiam cum populo Romano, satis facere exteris nationibus possetis; depeculatorem aerarii, vexatorem Asiae atque Pamphyliae, praedonem iuris urbani, labem atque
3 perniciem provinciae Siciliae. De quo si vos severe ac religiose iudicaveritis, auctoritas ea quae in vobis remanere debet haerebit: sin istius ingentes divitiae iudiciorum religionem veritatemque perfregerint, ego hoc tamen assequar, ut iudicium potius reipublicae quam aut reus iudicibus aut accusator reo defuisse videatur.

II. Equidem ut de me confitear, iudices, cum multae mihi a C. Verre insidiae terra marique factae sint, quas partim mea diligentia devitarim, partim amicorum studio officioque reppulerim, numquam tamen neque tantum periculum mihi adire visus sum neque
4 tanto opere pertimui, ut nunc in ipso iudicio. Neque tantum me exspectatio accusationis meae concursusque tantae multitudinis, quibus ego rebus vehementissime perturbor, commovet quantum istius insidiae nefariae, quas uno tempore mihi, vobis, M'. Glabrioni praetori, populo Romano,[1] sociis, exteris

[1] *The reading here follows a suggestion of Peterson's not adopted in his text.*

[a] President of the Extortion Court.

popularity of your Order, but to help in allaying the discredit which is mine as well as yours. The character of the man I am prosecuting is such, that you may use him to restore the lost good name of these Courts, to regain favour at home, and to give satisfaction abroad: he has robbed the Treasury, and plundered Asia and Pamphylia; he has behaved like a pirate in his city praetorship, and like a
destroying pestilence in his province of Sicily. You 3
have only to pronounce against this man an upright and conscientious verdict, and you will continue to possess that public respect which ought always to belong to you. If, however, the vastness of his wealth shatters the conscience and the honesty of the judges in these Courts, I shall achieve one thing at least: it will be felt that the nation lacked the right judges in this case, and not that the judges lacked the right prisoner to convict, or the prisoner the right man to prosecute him.

II. May I make you a personal confession, gentlemen? Many are the stealthy attacks that Verres has delivered against me by land and sea, some of which I have eluded by my own carefulness, repelling the rest with the help of my energetic and loyal friends. Yet never have I felt myself facing such grave danger, nor been so thoroughly alarmed, as
now when the trial has begun. And it is not the 4
eagerness with which my speech for the prosecution is awaited, nor the huge crowd assembled here, that thus affects me, profoundly disturbing as these things are to me: it is rather the unscrupulous assault that Verres is secretly attempting to launch, at once against myself, and you, and the praetor Manius Glabrio,[a] and the Roman nation, and their allies, and

nationibus, ordini, nomini denique senatorio facere conatur; qui ita dictitat, iis esse metuendum qui quod ipsis solis satis esset surripuissent, se tantum rapuisse ut id multis satis esse possit; nihil esse tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit.

5 Quodsi quam audax est ad conandum tam esset obscurus in agendo, fortasse aliqua in re nos aliquando fefellisset. Verum hoc adhuc percommode cadit, quod cum incredibili eius audacia singularis stultitia coniuncta est. Nam ut apertus in corripiendis pecuniis fuit, sic in spe corrumpendi iudicii perspicua sua consilia conatusque omnibus fecit. Semel ait se in vita pertimuisse, tum cum primum reus a me factus sit; quod, cum e provincia recens esset, invidiaque et infamia non recenti sed vetere ac diuturna flagraret, tum ad iudicium corrumpendum tempus alienum
6 offenderet. Itaque cum ego diem inquirendi in Siciliam perexiguam postulavissem, invenit iste qui sibi in Achaiam biduo breviorem diem postularet; non ut is idem conficeret diligentia et industria sua quod ego meo labore et vigiliis consecutus sum; etenim ille Achaicus inquisitor ne Brundisium quidem pervenit, ego Siciliam totam quinquaginta diebus sic

the foreign world, and the senatorial order, and all that the Senate means and is. He goes about saying that people have reason to fear the consequences of filching enough for themselves only, but that he himself has carried off enough for a great many people; that no sanctuary is too holy for money to defile it, no fortress too strong for money to capture it.

If only the audacity of his designs were equalled 5
by his secrecy in carrying them out, he might perhaps have contrived, at some time or in some detail, to hide them from me. But it has very fortunately come about, hitherto, that his incredible audacity has been accompanied by unparalleled folly. Just as he has been quite open in amassing his stolen wealth, so he has revealed quite clearly to everybody the plans and schemes by which he aims at corrupting his judges. He says he was really frightened once in his life—on the day when I first issued the summons against him; not only because he had newly arrived from his province to face a blaze of hatred and dislike, which, so far from being new, had burnt steadily for a long time past, but also because he had stumbled upon a time unsuitable for corrupting the Court. That is why, when I had applied for a very 6
short space of time in which to go and collect my evidence in Sicily, he found himself another man to apply for a period shorter by two days in which to do the like in Achaea; not with any idea that the latter should effect by his carefulness and energy what I have achieved by my own hard work and watchfulness—indeed, this collector of evidence in Achaea never got even so far as Brundisium; whereas I covered the whole of Sicily in fifty days, so effectively,

obii ut omnium populorum privatorumque litteras iniuriasque cognoscerem: ut perspicuum cuivis esse posset hominem ab isto quaesitum esse, non qui reum suum adduceret, sed qui meum tempus obsideret.

7 III. Nunc homo audacissimus atque amentissimus hoc cogitat. Intellegit me ita paratum atque instructum in iudicium venire ut non modo in auribus vestris, sed in oculis omnium, sua furta atque flagitia defixurus sim. Videt senatores multos esse testes audaciae suae, videt multos equites Romanos; frequentes praeterea cives atque socios, quibus ipse insignes iniurias fecerit; videt etiam tot tam graves ab amicissimis civitatibus legationes cum
8 publicis auctoritatibus convenisse. Quae cum ita sint, usque eo de omnibus bonis male existimat, usque eo senatoria iudicia perdita profligataque esse arbitratur, ut hoc palam dictitet, non sine causa se cupidum pecuniae fuisse, quoniam in pecunia tantum praesidium experiatur esse: sese, id quod difficillimum fuerit, tempus ipsum emisse iudicii sui, quo cetera facilius emere postea posset; ut, quoniam criminum vim subterfugere nullo modo poterat, pro-
9 cellam temporis devitaret. Quodsi non modo in causa, verum in aliquo honesto praesidio aut in alicuius eloquentia aut gratia, spem aliquam col-

[a] See Introduction, p. xv.

that I took cognizance of the wrongs, and the documents recording the wrongs, of all the communities and individuals concerned: so that anyone could see quite clearly that Verres secured the man not to prosecute his own victim but to block the way for me.[a]

III. Let me tell you of the impudent and insane 7
plan that is now in his mind. It is plain to him that I am approaching this case so well equipped and prepared for it that I shall be able to pin him down as a robber and a criminal, not merely in the hearing of this Court, but before the eyes of the whole world. He sees how many senators, and how many Roman knights, have come to testify to his evil violence; he sees also the throng of those, citizens of our own and of allied states, to whom he has himself done conspicuous wrong; he sees, too, from communities that are among our best friends, how many deputations, formed of responsible men and armed with official documents, are assembled here
against him. But in spite of this, he holds so low 8
an opinion of the whole upper class, he believes the senatorial Courts to be so utterly abandoned and corrupt, that he goes about remarking openly what good reason he had to set his heart on making money, since he finds his money such a tower of strength to him; how he bought himself the hardest thing to buy, the right date for his own trial, so that he might be able to buy all else the more easily afterwards, and since he could not possibly escape the rough waters of prosecution, might at least
avoid the gales of the stormy season. And yet if he 9
could have placed any trust, I do not say in the strength of his case, but in any honourable kind of defence, in the eloquence, or in the popularity, of

locasset, profecto non haec omnia colligeret atque aucuparetur; non usque eo despiceret contemneretque ordinem senatorium, ut arbitratu eius deligeretur ex senatu qui reus fieret, qui, dum hic quae opus essent compararet, causam interea ante eum diceret.

10 Quibus ego rebus quid iste speret et quo animum intendat facile perspicio; quam ob rem vero se confidat aliquid perficere posse, hoc praetore et hoc consilio, intellegere non possum. Unum illud intellego, quod populus Romanus in reiectione iudicum iudicavit, ea spe istum fuisse praeditum ut omnem rationem salutis in pecunia constitueret, hoc erepto praesidio ut nullam sibi rem adiumento fore arbitraretur.

IV. Etenim quod est ingenium tantum, quae tanta facultas dicendi et copia, quae istius vitam, tot vitiis flagitiisque convictam, iam pridem omnium voluntate iudicioque damnatam, aliqua ex parte possit defen-
11 dere? Cuius ut adulescentiae maculas ignominiasque praeteream; quaestura, primus gradus honoris, quid aliud habet in se nisi Cn. Carbonem spoliatum a quaestore suo pecunia publica, nudatum et proditum consulem, desertum exercitum, relictam provinciam, sortis necessitudinem religionemque violatam? cuius

[a] The accused in the rival prosecution already mentioned (§ 6).

[b] See Book I. of the *Actio Secunda* for full details of the earlier career of Verres, here only summarized.

any of his supporters, he would certainly not have been driving and hunting such game as that; he would not have held a view of the senatorial order so low and contemptuous as to set about the selection of a senator,[a] chosen by his own caprice, to be the object of a prosecution, and to stand his trial first, while he himself meanwhile was making the preparations he needed.

Now, in all this, I can see easily enough what his 10
hopes are, and what ends he has in view: but with such a court and such a president of the court as we now have sitting here, I do fail to understand how he can expect to gain his ends at all. One thing alone I do understand—and the people of Rome were convinced of this when the challenging of the judges took place: his hopes were of such a kind that he looked upon his money as his only possible means of escape, and never supposed that, if this support were taken from him, anything else could help him.

IV. And indeed what brain could be powerful enough, what eloquence ready or rich enough, to defend with even partial success the career of Verres, a career convicted already of countless vices and countless crimes, and condemned long ago by the
feelings, and by the judgement, of all the world? I 11
pass over the stained and shameful record of his youthful days: what is the story of his quaestorship, the first stage in his official career?[b] It is the story of how Gnaeus Carbo was robbed, by his own quaestor, of money belonging to the state: the story of a consular superior left helpless and deserted, of an army abandoned to its fate, of duty left undone, of the violation of the personal tie that the lot had imposed and hallowed. His term of service as

legatio exitium fuit Asiae totius et Pamphyliae; quibus in provinciis multas domos, plurimas urbes, omnia fana depeculatus est, tum cum in Cn. Dolabellam suum scelus illud pristinum renovavit et instauravit quaestorium, cum eum, cui et legatus et pro quaestore fuisset, et in invidiam suis maleficiis adduxit et in ipsis periculis non solum deseruit sed etiam
12 oppugnavit ac prodidit; cuius praetura urbana aedium sacrarum fuit publicorumque operum depopulatio, simul in iure dicundo bonorum possessionumque contra omnium instituta addictio et condonatio.

Iam vero omnium vitiorum suorum plurima et maxima constituit monumenta et indicia in provincia Sicilia; quam iste per triennium ita vexavit ac perdidit ut ea restitui in antiquum statum nullo modo possit, vix autem per multos annos innocentesque praetores aliqua ex parte recreari aliquando posse
13 videatur. Hoc praetore Siculi neque suas leges neque nostra senatus consulta neque communia iura tenuerunt; tantum quisque habet in Sicilia quantum hominis avarissimi et libidinosissimi aut imprudentiam subterfugit aut satietati superfuit. V. Nulla res per triennium nisi ad nutum istius iudicata est; nulla

[a] *suum* is perhaps to be stressed: ". . . of the peculiarly Verrine wickedness that had . . ."

adjutant was a disaster to the whole of the provinces of Asia and Pamphylia, where few private houses, very few cities, and not one single sanctuary escaped his depredations. It was now that he carried out, at Gnaeus Dolabella's expense, a fresh performance of the [a] wickedness that had already distinguished his quaestorship, bringing discredit through his own misconduct on a man whom he had served not only as adjutant but as acting-quaestor also, and not merely failing to support him in the hour of danger, but deliberately attacking and betraying him. His 12
city praetorship was occupied in a plundering onslaught upon sanctuaries and public buildings, and in awarding, or failing to award, in the civil courts, personal and real property in violation of all legal precedents.

But nowhere did he multiply and magnify the memorials and the proofs of all his evil qualities so thoroughly as in his governorship of Sicily; which island for the space of three years he devastated and ruined so effectually that nothing can restore it to its former condition, and it hardly seems possible that a long lapse of years and a succession of upright governors can in time bring it a partial revival of prosperity. So long as Verres was govern- 13
ing it, its people were protected neither by their own laws, nor by the decrees of the Roman Senate, nor by the rights that belong to all nations alike. None of them has anything left to-day, except what either escaped the notice of this avaricious and intemperate ruffian, or remained over when his greed was glutted. V. For the space of three years, the law awarded nothing to anybody unless Verres

res tam patria cuiusquam atque avita fuit quae non ab eo, imperio istius, abiudicaretur. Innumerabiles pecuniae ex aratorum bonis novo nefarioque instituto coactae; socii fidelissimi in hostium numero existimati; cives Romani servilem in modum cruciati et necati; homines nocentissimi propter pecunias iudicio liberati, honestissimi atque integerrimi, absentes rei facti, indicta causa, damnati et eiecti; portus munitissimi, maximae tutissimaeque urbes, piratis praedonibusque patefactae; nautae militesque Siculorum, socii nostri atque amici, fame necati; classes optimae atque opportunissimae cum magna ignominia populi Romani amissae et perditae.

14 Idem iste praetor monumenta antiquissima, partim regum locupletissimorum, quae illi ornamento urbibus esse voluerunt, partim etiam nostrorum imperatorum, quae victores civitatibus Siculis aut dederunt aut reddiderunt, spoliavit nudavitque omnia. Neque hoc solum in statuis ornamentisque publicis fecit, sed etiam delubra omnia sanctissimis religionibus consecrata depeculatus est; deum denique nullum Siculis, qui ei paullo magis adfabre atque antiquo artificio factus videretur, reliquit. In stupris vero et flagitiis nefarias eius libidines commemorare pudore deterreor; simul illorum calamitatem commemorando augere nolo quibus liberos coniugesque suas

chose to agree; and nothing was so undoubtedly inherited from a man's father or grandfather that the courts would not cancel his right to it, if Verres bade them do so. Countless sums of money, under a new and unprincipled regulation, were wrung from the purses of the farmers; our most loyal allies were treated as if they were national enemies; Roman citizens were tortured and executed like slaves; the guiltiest criminals bought their legal acquittal, while the most honourable and honest men would be prosecuted in absence, and condemned and banished unheard; strongly fortified harbours, mighty and well-defended cities, were left open to the assaults of pirates and buccaneers; Sicilian soldiers and sailors, our allies and our friends, were starved to death; fine fleets, splendidly equipped, were to the great disgrace of our nation destroyed and lost to us. Famous and ancient works of art, 14

some of them the gifts of wealthy kings, who intended them to adorn the cities where they stood, others the gifts of Roman generals, who gave or restored them to the communities of Sicily in the hour of victory—this same governor stripped and despoiled every one of them. Nor was it only the civic statues and works of art that he treated thus; he also pillaged the holiest and most venerated sanctuaries; in fact, he has not left the people of Sicily a single god whose workmanship he thought at all above the average of antiquity or artistic merit. As to his adulteries and the like vile offences, a sense of decency makes me afraid to repeat the tale of his acts of wanton wickedness: and besides, I would not wish, by repeating it, to add to the calamities of those who have not been suffered to save their

integras ab istius petulantia conservare non licitum
15 est. At enim haec ita commissa sunt ab isto ut non cognita sint ab omnibus. Hominem esse arbitror neminem, qui nomen istius audierit, quin facta quoque eius nefaria commemorare possit; ut mihi magis timendum sit ne multa crimina praetermittere quam ne qua in istum fingere existimer. Neque enim mihi videtur haec multitudo, quae ad audiendum convenit, cognoscere ex me causam voluisse, sed ea quae scit mecum recognoscere.

VI. Quae cum ita sint, iste homo amens ac perditus alia mecum ratione pugnat. Non id agit, ut alicuius eloquentiam mihi opponat; non gratia, non auctoritate cuiusquam, non potentia nititur. Simulat his se rebus confidere; sed video quid agat, neque enim agit occultissime. Proponit inania mihi nobilitatis, hoc est hominum arrogantium, nomina—qui non tam me impediunt quod nobiles sunt quam adiuvant quod noti sunt; simulat se eorum praesidio confidere, cum interea aliud quiddam iam diu ma-
16 chinetur. Quam spem nunc habeat in manibus et quid moliatur breviter iam, iudices, vobis exponam: sed prius ut ab initio res ab eo constituta sit, quaeso, cognoscite.

Ut primum e provincia rediit, redemptio est huius iudicii facta grandi pecunia. Mansit in condicione atque pacto usque ad eum finem dum iudices re-

[a] *i.e.*, promised a bribery agent a large sum if he would secure his acquittal by bribing the jurors.

children and their wives from outrage at the hands
of this lecherous scoundrel. Is it alleged that he did 15
these things so secretly that they were not known everywhere? I do not believe that one human being lives, who has heard the name of Verres spoken, and cannot also repeat the tale of his evil doings. I have therefore more reason to fear criticism for passing over charges of which he is guilty, than for inventing against him charges of which he is innocent. And indeed the purpose of the great audience that has gathered to attend this trial is not, I conceive, to learn the facts of the case from me, but to join me in reviewing the facts that it knows already.

VI. The knowledge of all these things has led this abandoned madman to adopt a new method of fighting me. It is not his real purpose to find an eloquent advocate to oppose me. He relies upon no man's popularity or influence or power. He does indeed pretend that it is here his confidence lies; but I can see what his purpose is, of which, to be sure, he makes no great secret. He displays against me a hollow show of titled names, the names of a very arrogant set of persons, who harm my cause by their being noble less than they forward it by their being known: and he pretends to put his trust in their protection, while all the time he has been engineer-
ing a quite different scheme. I will explain briefly 16
to you, gentlemen, the hope that now possesses him, and the object of his present exertions: but before coming to that, I will ask you to note what he was aiming at in the earlier stages of this affair.

No sooner was he back from his province than he bought up this Court for a large sum of money.[a] The terms of the contract held good as arranged, until the

iecti sunt: posteaquam reiectio iudicum facta est, quod et in sortitione istius spem fortuna populi Romani, et in reiiciendis iudicibus mea diligentia istorum impudentiam vicerat, renuntiata est tota
17 condicio. Praeclare se res habebat. Libelli nominum vestrorum consiliique huius in manibus erant omnium; nulla nota, nullus color, nullae sordes videbantur his sententiis adlini posse; cum iste repente ex alacri atque laeto sic erat humilis atque demissus ut non modo populo Romano, sed etiam sibi ipse, condemnatus videretur. Ecce autem repente his diebus paucis, comitiis consularibus factis, eadem illa vetera consilia pecunia maiore repetuntur, eaedemque vestrae famae fortunisque omnium insidiae per eosdem homines comparantur. Quae res primo, iudices, pertenui nobis argumento indicioque patefacta est: post aperto suspicionis introitu ad omnia intima istorum consilia sine ullo errore pervenimus.

18 VII. Nam ut Hortensius consul designatus domum reducebatur e campo cum maxima frequentia ac multitudine, fit obviam casu ei multitudini C. Curio; quem ego hominem honoris potius quam contumeliae causa nominatum volo, etenim ea dicam quae ille, si com-

[a] The court thus left was too honest to be bribed for the sum promised.
[b] For Cicero and justice.
[c] *Divinatio*, § 24 note.
[d] The Campus Martius, where the elections were held.
[e] Consul 76 B.C.: father of Caesar's famous supporter.

challenging took place. When the challenging had taken place—since the good destiny of our country had prevailed over Verres' hopes when the lots were cast, and when the members of the Court were challenged my carefulness prevailed over the effrontery of him and his supporters—the contractor threw up his undertaking entirely.[a] Everything now promised well.[b] The list of your names, as members 17
of this Court, was accessible to everyone: this verdict, it seemed, could be given without any fear that special signs, colours, or smudges could be marked upon the voting-tablets.[c] Verres, from looking lively and cheerful, had been plunged suddenly into so gloomy a state of depression, that he was looked on as an already condemned man by everyone in Rome, himself included. And now behold, equally suddenly, within these last few days, since the result of the consular elections has been known, the same old methods are being set going again, and more money than before is being spent upon them: the same insidious attacks are being organized, by the same agents, upon your good name, gentlemen, and upon the well-being of the community at large. This fact was first revealed to me by a slender thread of circumstantial evidence; but once the door was opened to admit suspicion, a direct path led me to the inmost secrets of Verres and his friends.

VII. What happened was this. Hortensius had 18
just been declared consul-elect, and was being escorted home from the Campus[d] by a large crowd of his supporters, when it chanced that they were met by Gaius Curio.[e] (I do not wish my reference to this gentleman to be taken as disparaging him, but rather the reverse. If he had wished that the remark I am

memorari noluisset, non tanto in conventu tam aperte
palamque dixisset; quae tamen a me pedetentim
cauteque dicentur, ut et amicitiae nostrae et digni-
19 tatis illius habita ratio esse intellegatur. Videt ad
ipsum fornicem Fabianum in turba Verrem; appellat
hominem et ei voce maxima gratulatur; ipsi Horten-
sio, qui consul erat factus, propinquis necessariisque
eius, qui tum aderant, verbum nullum facit; cum hoc
consistit, hunc amplexatur, hunc iubet sine cura esse.
"Renuntio" inquit "tibi te hodiernis comitiis esse
absolutum." Quod cum tam multi homines hone-
stissimi audissent, statim ad me defertur; immo vero,
ut quisque me viderat narrabat. Aliis illud indignum,
aliis ridiculum videbatur: ridiculum iis qui istius
causam in testium fide, in criminum ratione, in iu-
dicum potestate, non in comitiis consularibus, positam
arbitrabantur; indignum iis qui altius perspiciebant
et hanc gratulationem ad iudicium corrumpendum
20 spectare videbant. Etenim sic ratiocinabantur, sic
honestissimi homines inter se et mecum loquebantur,
aperte iam ac perspicue nulla esse iudicia. Qui reus
pridie iam ipse se condemnatum putabat, is postea-
quam defensor eius consul est factus absolvitur?
Quid igitur? quod tota Sicilia, quod omnes Siculi,
omnes negotiatores, omnes publicae privataeque
litterae Romae sunt, nihilne id valebit? nihil, invito

[a] In the Via Sacra.
[b] *Renuntio* is the regular word for making official announcements, such as election results.

going to quote should not be repeated, he would not
have made it so openly in the hearing of so large a
gathering. None the less, what I am going to say
shall be said with cautious hesitation, showing that I
am mindful of his high rank, and of the personal
friendship between us.) Just near the Arch of 19
Fabius,[a] he noticed Verres among the crowd, called out
to him, and congratulated him loudly. He said not a
word to the newly-elected consul Hortensius himself,
nor to the relatives and friends of Hortensius who were
there at the time. No, it was Verres with whom he
stopped to talk, Verres whom he embraced and told
to put aside all anxiety. "I hereby inform[b] you,"
he said, "that to-day's election means your acquittal."
This remark, being overheard by a number of honest
gentlemen, was forthwith reported to me; or I
should rather say, everyone told me of it as soon as he
saw me. Some found it distressing, others absurd:
it was absurd to those who regarded the issue of the
case as depending on the credit of the witnesses, the
methods of the prosecution, and the Court's power to
decide, not on the consular election; distressing to
those who could look further beneath the surface, and
saw that this speech of congratulation pointed to the
corruption of the members of the Court. For they 20
argued thus, and honest gentlemen kept saying so to
one another and to me, that it was at last unmistak-
ably plain that our law-courts were worthless. An
accused man one day regards his own condemnation
as an accomplished fact, and the next day is acquitted
by the election of his advocate to the consulship?
Why, is the presence at Rome of all Sicily and its
inhabitants, of all its business men, of all its public
and private records—is all this, then, to count for

consule designato. Quid? iudices non crimina, non testes, non existimationem populi Romani sequentur? Non; omnia in unius potestate ac moderatione vertentur. VIII. Vere loquar, iudices: vehementer me haec res commovebat. Optimus enim quisque ita loquebatur, "Iste quidem tibi eripietur, sed nos non tenebimus iudicia diutius; etenim quis poterit Verre
21 absoluto de transferendis iudiciis recusare?" Erat omnibus molestum; neque eos tam istius hominis perditi subita laetitia quam hominis amplissimi nova gratulatio commovebat. Cupiebam dissimulare me id moleste ferre; cupiebam animi dolorem vultu tegere et taciturnitate celare.

Ecce autem illis ipsis diebus, cum praetores designati sortirentur et M. Metello obtigisset ut is de pecuniis repetundis quaereret, nuntiatur mihi tantam isti gratulationem esse factam ut is domum quoque
22 mitteret qui uxori suae nuntiarent. Sane ne haec quidem res mihi placebat; neque tamen tanto opere quid in hac sorte metuendum mihi esset intellegebam. Unum illud ex hominibus certis, ex quibus omnia comperi, reperiebam: fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi a quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse translatos, ex his quasi x. fiscos ad senatorem illum relictos esse comitiorum meorum nomine, divisores omnium tribuum noctu ad istum vocatos.

[a] To decide the sphere of office each was to occupy.
[b] For the aedileship. The electors were to be bribed to vote against him.

nothing? No, not if the consul-elect will not have it so. Why, will the Court have no regard for the statements of the prosecution, the evidence of the witnesses, the credit of the Roman nation? No; everything is to be steered and directed by the hand of one powerful man. VIII. I will speak frankly, gentlemen. This circumstance disturbed me profoundly. Everywhere the soundest men were saying, "Verres will certainly escape your clutches, but the law-courts will be in our keeping no longer; for who can possibly hesitate about transferring them to other hands, if Verres is acquitted?" Everyone was distressed; less disturbed, 21
however, by this scoundrel's sudden exultation, than by this unheard-of speech of congratulation from a man of such high position. I did my best to pretend that I felt no uneasiness myself; I did my best, with the help of calm looks and silence, to mask and conceal the anguish that I felt.

But to my surprise, only a few days later, when the praetors-elect were casting lots,[a] and it fell to Marcus Metellus to be president of the Extortion Court, I received the news that Verres had been so warmly congratulated on this that he even sent off slaves to his house to carry the news to his wife. Now I admit 22
that the way the lot had fallen was a new source of regret to me: but still, I could not see what special reason I had to be alarmed by it. One thing I did learn from certain persons who were my regular detectives: that a number of baskets of Sicilian money had been transferred from a particular senator to a particular knight, that some ten or more of these baskets were left at this senator's house for a purpose connected with my own candidature,[b] and that a meeting of the bribery-agents for all the tribes was held

23 Ex quibus quidam, qui se omnia mea causa debere arbitrabatur, eadem illa nocte ad me venit; demonstrat, qua iste oratione usus esset; commemorasse istum quam liberaliter eos tractasset, et iam antea cum ipse praeturam petisset, et proxumis consularibus praetoriisque comitiis: deinde continuo esse pollicitum quantam vellent pecuniam si me aedilitate deiecissent. Hic alios negasse audere, alios respondisse non putare id perfici posse; inventum tamen esse fortem amicum ex eadem familia, Q. Verrem Romilia, ex optima divisorum disciplina, patris istius discipulum atque amicum, qui HS quingentis millibus depositis id se perfecturum polliceretur; et fuisse tamen nonnullos qui se una facturos esse dicerent. Quae cum ita essent, sane benivolo animo me ut magno opere caverem praemonebat.

24 IX. Sollicitabar rebus maximis uno atque eo perexiguo tempore. Urgebant comitia, et in his ipsis oppugnabar grandi pecunia: instabat iudicium; ei quoque negotio fisci Sicilienses minabantur. Agere quae ad iudicium pertinebant libere comitiorum metu deterrebar; petitioni toto animo servire propter iudicium non licebat; minari denique divisoribus ratio non erat, propterea quod eos intellegere videbam me hoc iudicio districtum atque obligatum

25 futurum. Atque hoc ipso tempore Siculis denuntiatum esse audio primum ab Hortensio domum ad illum

[a] By threatening to prosecute them for their conduct in either connexion.

one night at Verres' house. One of these agents, a 23
man who felt bound to give me all the help he could, called on me that same night, and told me what Verres had been saying to them: he had reminded them how liberally he had dealt with them, both when he was himself a candidate for the praetorship some time ago, and at the recent elections of consuls and praetors; and then had at once proceeded to promise them what they chose to ask for turning me out of my aedileship. At this, some of them had said they would not dare to try it, others had replied that they did not believe it could be managed; however, a stout ally turned up from among his own kinsmen, Quintus Verres of the Romilian tribe, a fine old specimen of the bribery-agent, who had been the pupil and friend of Verres' father; this man undertook to manage the business for £5000 down, and some of the others said after all that they would join him. In view of all this my friend very kindly warned me to take every possible precaution.

IX. Within the same short space of time I had now 24
to face more than one pressing anxiety. My election was upon me; and here, as in the trial, a great sum of money was fighting against me. The trial was approaching; and in this matter also those baskets of Sicilian gold were threatening me. I was deterred by concern for my election from giving my mind freely to the business of the trial; the trial prevented my devoting my whole attention to my candidature; and to crown all, there was no sense in my trying to intimidate the bribery-agents,[a] since I could see they were aware that the conduct of this present trial would tie my hands completely. It was just at this 25
moment that I heard for the first time how Hortensius

ut venirent; Siculos sane in eo liberos fuisse, qui quam ob rem arcesserentur cum intellegerent, non venisse. Interea comitia nostra, quorum iste se, ut ceterorum hoc anno comitiorum, dominum esse arbitrabatur, haberi coepta sunt. Cursare iste homo potens cum filio blando et gratioso circum tribus; paternos amicos, hoc est divisores, appellare omnes et convenire. Quod cum esset intellectum et animadversum, fecit animo libentissimo populus Romanus ut, cuius divitiae me de fide deducere non potuissent, ne eiusdem pecunia de honore deicerer.

26 Posteaquam illa petitionis magna cura liberatus sum, animo coepi multo magis vacuo ac soluto nihil aliud nisi de iudicio agere et cogitare. Reperio, iudices, haec ab istis consilia inita et constituta, ut, quacumque opus esset ratione, res ita duceretur ut apud M. Metellum praetorem causa diceretur. In eo esse haec commoda: primum M. Metellum amicissimum; deinde Hortensium consulem non solum, sed etiam Q. Metellum, qui quam isti sit amicus, attendite; dedit enim praerogativam suae voluntatis eius modi ut isti pro praerogativis iam reddidisse
27 videatur. An me taciturum tantis de rebus existimavistis? et me, in tanto reipublicae existimationisque meae periculo, cuiquam consulturum potius quam officio et dignitati meae?—Arcessit alter consul

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[a] Lit. "(tribes, or centuries) voting first," and by their example influencing the votes of those that followed. Verres had bribed the tribes, and perhaps the *centuriae praerogativae* most heavily, to vote for Q. Metellus as one consul.

[b] Cicero seems to address Verres and his supporters.

had sent the Sicilians word to call on him at his house—and how they had behaved like free and independent men, refusing to go when they understood why they were being sent for. And now began my election, which Verres supposed to be under his own control like all the other elections of this year. He flew about, this great potentate, with his amiable and popular son, canvassing the tribes, and interviewing the family friends—to wit, the bribery-agents—and summoning them to the fray. As soon as this was noticed and understood, the people of Rome, with prompt enthusiasm, ensured my not being thrust out of my office by the money of a man whose wealth had failed to lure me out of my honour.

Once relieved of the heavy anxieties of my candida- 26
ture, I began, with a mind much less occupied and distracted, to devote my thoughts and energies to the trial alone. I now discovered, gentlemen, that the plan of action formed and adopted by Verres and his friends was this: so to prolong proceedings, by whatever method might be necessary, that the trial should take place under the presidency of Marcus Metellus as praetor. This would have several advantages. First, the strong friendly support of Marcus Metellus. Next, not only Hortensius would be consul, but Quintus Metellus too, the strength of whose friendship for Verres I will ask you to note: he has indeed given so clear a preliminary token of goodwill that Verres feels himself already paid in full for those preliminary votes[a] at the election.
Indeed? did you[b] count on my saying nothing of so 27
serious a matter? on my caring for anything, when the country and my own reputation are in such danger, except my duty and my honour? The second

designatus Siculos; veniunt nonnulli, propterea quod L. Metellus esset praetor in Sicilia. Cum iis ita loquitur: se consulem esse; fratrem suum alterum Siciliam provinciam obtinere, alterum esse quaesiturum de pecuniis repetundis; Verri ne noceri possit
28 multis rationibus esse provisum. X. Quid est, quaeso, Metelle, iudicium corrumpere, si hoc non est, testes, praesertim Siculos, timidos homines et adflictos, non solum auctoritate deterrere, sed etiam consulari metu et duorum praetorum potestate? Quid faceres pro homine innocente et propinquo, cum propter hominem perditissimum atque alienissimum de officio ac dignitate decedis, et committis ut quod ille dictitat alicui qui te ignorat verum esse videatur?
29 Nam hoc Verrem dicere aiebant, te non fato, ut ceteros ex vestra familia, sed opera sua, consulem factum.—Duo igitur consules et quaesitor erunt ex illius voluntate. "Non solum effugiemus" inquit "hominem in quaerendo nimium diligentem, nimium servientem populi existimationi, M'. Glabrionem; accedet nobis etiam illud. Iudex est M. Caesonius, collega nostri accusatoris, homo in rebus iudicandis spectatus et cognitus, quem minime expediat esse in eo consilio quod conemur aliqua ratione corrumpere, propterea quod iam antea, cum iudex in Iuniano consilio fuisset, turpissimum illud facinus non solum

[a] The verse *Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules* was attributed, by a doubtful tradition, to the poet Naevius.

[b] As aedile elect.

consul-elect sent for the Sicilians, and some of them came, remembering that Lucius Metellus was now praetor in Sicily. He talked to them in this sort of way: "I am consul; one of my brothers is governing Sicily, the other is going to preside over the Extortion Court; many steps have been taken to secure that no harm can happen to Verres." X. 28
To attempt to intimidate witnesses, especially these timorous and calamity-stricken Sicilians, not merely by your personal influence, but by appealing to their awe of you as consul, and to the power of the two praetors—if this is not judicial corruption, Metellus, I should be glad to know what is. What would you not do for an innocent kinsman, if you forsake duty and honour for an utter rascal who is no kin of yours at all, and make it possible for those who do not know you to believe in the truth of his allegations concerning you?
For Verres was reported to have been saying that you 29
were made consul, not, like the rest of your family, by fate,[a] but by his own exertions. Well then, he will have the two consuls, and the president of the Court, to suit him. He says to himself: "We shall not only escape having Manius Glabrio as President of the Court—a man who is far too conscientious and too subservient to considerations of the national honour. We shall also gain in the following ways. At present one of the judges is Marcus Caesonius, who is the colleague [b] of our prosecutor, and whose behaviour as a judge has already been publicly tested and approved; a man whom it would be most undesirable to have as member of any court that we may try in any way to corrupt; for before this, when he was a judge in the court over which Junius presided, he did not simply take to heart the scandalous wickedness then com-

graviter tulit, sed etiam in medium protulit. Hunc iudicem ex Kalendis Ianuariis non habebimus;
30 Q. Manlium et Q. Cornificium, duos severissimos atque integerrimos iudices, quod tribuni plebis tum erunt, iudices non habebimus; P. Sulpicius, iudex tristis et integer, magistratum ineat necesse est Nonis Decembribus; M. Crepereius, ex acerrima illa equestri familia et disciplina, L. Cassius, ex familia cum ad ceteras res tum ad iudicandum severissima, Cn. Tremellius, homo summa religione et diligentia, tres hi homines veteres tribuni militares sunt designati; ex Kalendis Ianuariis non iudicabunt. Subsortiemur etiam in M. Metelli locum, quoniam is huic ipsi quaestioni praefuturus est. Ita secundum Kalendas Ianuarias, et praetore et prope toto consilio commutato, magnas accusatoris minas magnamque iudicii exspectationem ad nostrum arbitrium libi-
31 dinemque eludemus. Nonae sunt hodie Sextiles; hora octava convenire coepistis; hunc diem iam ne numerant quidem. Decem dies sunt ante ludos votivos quos Cn. Pompeius facturus est; hi ludi dies quindecim auferent; deinde continuo Romani consequentur. Ita prope XL. diebus interpositis tum denique se ad ea quae a nobis dicta erunt responsuros esse arbitrantur; deinde se ducturos et dicendo et

[a] A majority of the *iudices*, bribed by Aulus Cluentius the prosecutor, found his stepfather Oppianicus guilty of attempted poisoning.

mitted,[a] but took steps to expose it publicly. We shall not have this man as a judge after the 1st of January; nor shall we have Quintus Manlius and 30
Quintus Cornificius, two judges of entirely scrupulous and upright character, because they will then be Tribunes of the Plebs; that stern and upright judge Publius Sulpicius will have to enter upon his magistracy on the 5th of December; Marcus Crepereius, who belongs to an equestrian family of the strictest traditions, Lucius Cassius, whose family has shown the highest integrity in judicial as in all other matters, and Gnaeus Tremellius, who is a particularly scrupulous and conscientious man—these three men of the fine old school have all been designated for military tribuneships, and after the 1st of January will not be judges. We shall also be having a supplementary ballot to fill the place of Marcus Metellus, since he is to preside over this actual Court. So that after the 1st of January, both the president and practically the whole of the Court will be changed; and thus we shall baffle the formidable threats of the prosecutor, and the widespread hopes that are centred upon this trial, just as we think best and feel most inclined." To-day, the 31
5th of August, the Court did not assemble till three o'clock: they are already reckoning that to-day does not count at all. It is only ten days to the Votive Games that Gnaeus Pompeius is to hold; these games will occupy fifteen days, and will be followed emmediately by the Roman Games. Thus it is not till after an interval of nearly forty days that they expect to begin their reply, at last, to the charges that we on this side shall have brought against them. They count on being able then, with the help of long

excusando facile ad ludos Victoriae; cum his plebeios esse coniunctos, secundum quos aut nulli aut pauci dies ad agendum futuri sunt. Ita defessa ac refrigerata accusatione rem integram ad M. Metellum praetorem esse venturam. Quem ego hominem, si eius fidei diffisus essem, iudicem non retinuissem;
32 nunc tamen eo animo sum ut eo iudice quam praetore hanc rem transigi malim, et iurato suam quam iniurato aliorum tabellas committere.

XI. Nunc ego, iudices, iam vos consulo quid mihi faciendum putetis; id enim consilii mihi profecto taciti dabitis quod egomet mihi necessario capiendum intellego. Si utar ad dicendum meo legitimo tempore, mei laboris industriae diligentiaeque capiam fructum, et ex accusatione perficiam ut nemo umquam post hominum memoriam paratior, vigilantior, compositior ad iudicium venisse videatur. Sed in hac laude industriae meae reus ne elabatur summum periculum est. Quid est igitur quod fieri possit? non obscurum,
33 opinor, neque absconditum. Fructum istum laudis qui ex perpetua oratione percipi potuit in alia tempora reservemus: nunc hominem tabulis, testibus,

speeches and technical evasions, to prolong the trial till the Games of Victory begin. These games are followed without a break by the Plebeian Games, after which there will be very few days, or none at all, on which the Court can sit. In this way they reckon that all the impetus of the prosecution will be spent and exhausted, and that the whole case will come up afresh before Marcus Metellus as president of the Court. Now so far as this gentleman is concerned, I should not have retained him as a member of the Court, if I
had had any doubts of his honesty; but even so, my 32
feeling is that I would prefer this issue to be decided while he is only a member of the Court, and not when he is presiding over it; I would rather trust him under oath with his own voting-tablet, than not under oath with the voting-tablets of other persons.

XI. And now, gentlemen, I should really like to ask you what, in your opinion, I ought to do: for I am sure the unspoken advice that you give me will be to do just that which my own understanding shows me I am bound to do. If I spend upon my speech the full time allotted me by law, I shall indeed secure some return to myself for all my toilsome and concentrated exertions; my conduct of this prosecution will show that no man in all history ever came into court more ready and watchful and well-prepared than I come now. But there is the gravest danger that, while I am thus reaping the credit due to my hard work, the man I am prosecuting will slip through my fingers. What, then, can be done? A thing that is surely
plain and obvious enough. The harvest of fame that 33
might have been gathered by making a long continuous speech let us reserve for another occasion, and let us now prosecute our man by means of documents

privatis publicisque litteris auctoritatibusque accusemus. Res omnis mihi tecum erit, Hortensi. Dicam aperte. Si te mecum dicendo ac diluendis criminibus in hac causa contendere putarem, ego quoque in accusando atque in explicandis criminibus operam consumerem. Nunc, quoniam pugnare contra me instituisti non tam ex tua natura quam ex istius tempore et causa, necesse est istius modi rationi
34 aliquo consilio obsistere. Tua ratio est ut secundum binos ludos mihi respondere incipias: mea, ut ante primos ludos comperendinem. Ita fiet ut tua ista ratio existimetur astuta, meum hoc consilium necessarium.

XII. Verum illud quod institueram dicere, mihi rem tecum esse, huius modi est. Ego cum hanc causam Siculorum rogatu recepissem, idque mihi amplum at praeclarum existimassem, eos velle meae fidei diligentiaeque periculum facere qui innocentiae abstinentiaeque fecissent: tum, suscepto negotio, maius mihi quiddam proposui, in quo meam in rempublicam voluntatem populus Romanus perspicere
35 posset. Nam illud mihi nequaquam dignum industria conatuque meo videbatur, istum a me in iudicium iam omnium iudicio condemnatum vocari,

and witnesses, the written statements and official pronouncements of private persons and public bodies. It is you, Hortensius, with whom I shall have to reckon throughout. I will speak frankly. If I could suppose that, in this case, your method of opposing me was that of fair speech in palliation of the charges I am bringing, I too would be for devoting my energies to a speech for the prosecution setting forth the charges in full. But since, as it is, you have chosen to fight me in a way less well suited to your own personal character than to the emergency in which Verres finds himself and to the badness of Verres' case, tactics such as you have adopted must somehow or other be countered. Your plan is, 34
that you should not begin your speech for the defence till both the festivals are over. My plan is, to reach the adjournment of the case before the first festival begins. It amounts to this, that you will have the credit of planning an ingenious move, and I of making the inevitable reply to it.

XII. But with regard to what I began just now to speak of—that it is you with whom I have to reckon—what I mean is this. Although, when I undertook this case at the request of the Sicilians, I felt that there was a full measure of honour for me in the fact that the people who had made trial of my integrity and self-control were willing now to make trial of my good faith and energy: yet the task once undertaken, I put before myself a still greater object, whereby to let the Roman people perceive my loyalty to my country.
For I reflected that to prosecute in court a man who 35
already stood condemned by the court of humanity was a task very far from worthy of the toil and effort it would cost me, were it not that your intolerably

nisi ista tua intolerabilis potentia, et ea cupiditas qua per hosce annos in quibusdam iudiciis usus es, etiam in istius hominis desperati causa interponeretur. Nunc vero, quoniam haec te omnis dominatio regnumque iudiciorum tanto opere delectat, et sunt homines quos libidinis infamiaeque suae neque pudeat neque taedeat, qui quasi de industria in odium offensionemque populi Romani irruere videantur, hoc me profiteor suscepisse magnum fortasse onus et mihi periculosum, verum tamen dignum in quo omnes nervos aetatis industriaeque meae contenderem.
36 Quoniam totus ordo paucorum improbitate et audacia premitur et urgetur infamia iudiciorum, profiteor huic generi hominum me inimicum accusatorem, odiosum, assiduum, acerbum adversarium. Hoc mihi sumo, hoc mihi deposco, quod agam in magistratu, quod agam ex eo loco, ex quo me populus Romanus ex Kalendis Ianuariis secum agere de republica ac de hominibus improbis voluit; hoc munus aedilitatis meae populo Romano amplissimum pulcherrimumque polliceor. Moneo, praedico, ante denuntio: qui aut deponere aut accipere aut recipere aut polliceri aut sequestres aut interpretes corrumpendi iudicii solent esse, quique ad hanc rem aut potentiam aut impuden-

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[a] The aediles were expected to provide entertainments on a large scale for the Roman public.
[b] There is some doubt about the technical meaning of *accipere* and *polliceri* here.

despotic power, and the self-seeking that you have exhibited in more than one trial of recent years, were being engaged once more in the defence of that desperate scoundrel yonder. But as things now stand, since you take so much pleasure in all this tyrannical domination of our courts of law, and since men do exist who find nothing shameful, nothing disgusting, in their own wanton deeds and vile reputations, but appear to challenge, as though of set purpose, the hatred and anger of the people of Rome: I will declare boldly, that the burden I have shouldered may indeed be heavy and dangerous for myself, but is nevertheless such that my manhood and determination may fitly strain every muscle to bear it. Since the whole of our poorer class is being **36**
oppressed by the hand of recklessness and crime, and groaning under the infamy of our law-courts, I declare myself to these criminals as their enemy and their accuser, as their pertinacious, bitter, and unrelenting adversary. It is this that I choose, this that I claim, as my duty in my public office, as my duty in that position in which the people of Rome have willed that, from the first day of next January, I should take counsel with them for the public welfare and the punishment of evil men. This is the most splendid and noble spectacle that I can promise to bestow during my aedileship on the people of Rome.[a] I here issue this warning, this public notice, this preliminary proclamation: To all those who are in the habit of depositing or receiving deposits[b] for bribery, of undertaking to offer or offering[b] bribes, or of acting as agents or go-betweens for the corruption of judges in our courts, and to all those who have offered to make use of their power or their shamelessness for these

tiam suam professi sunt, abstineant in hoc iudicio
37 manus animosque ab hoc scelere nefario. XIII. Erit tum consul Hortensius cum summo imperio et potestate, ego autem aedilis, hoc est, paulo amplius quam privatus: tamen haec huius modi res est quam me acturum esse polliceor, ita populo Romano grata atque iucunda, ut ipse consul in hac causa prae me minus etiam, si fieri possit, quam privatus esse videatur.

Omnia non modo commemorabuntur, sed etiam expositis certis rebus agentur, quae inter decem annos, posteaquam iudicia ad senatum translata sunt, in rebus iudicandis nefarie flagitioseque facta sunt.
38 Cognoscet ex me populus Romanus quid sit quam ob rem, cum equester ordo iudicaret, annos prope quinquaginta continuos in nullo, iudices,[1] equite Romano iudicante ne tenuissima quidem suspicio acceptae pecuniae ob rem iudicandam constituta sit; quid sit quod, iudiciis ad senatorium ordinem translatis, sublataque populi Romani in unum quemque vestrum potestate, Q. Calidius damnatus dixerit minoris HS triciens praetorium hominem honeste non posse damnari; quid sit quod, P. Septimio senatore damnato Q. Hortensio praetore de pecuniis repetundis, lis aestimata sit eo nomine quod ille ob rem
39 iudicandam pecuniam accepisset; quod in C. Herennio, quod in C. Popilio, senatoribus, qui ambo peculatus damnati sunt, quod in M. Atilio, qui de maiestate

[1] *The* MSS. *read* continuos nullo iudice equite . . .: *Zumpt proposed* in nullo: *Peterson accepts this and changes* iudice (*an almost impossible tautology*) *to the vocative* iudices.

[a] *i.e.*, the treachery of voting for the condemnation of a member of one's own class could only be justified by a really heavy bribe.

purposes: in this present trial, take care that your hands and your minds are kept clear of this vile crime.
XIII. Hortensius will then be consul, endowed with 37
supreme command and authority, while I shall be an aedile, nothing much grander than an ordinary citizen: yet the thing that I now promise to do is of such a kind, so welcome and acceptable to the people of Rome, that the consul himself must seem even less than an ordinary citizen, if that were possible, when matched against me on this issue.

The whole story shall not only be recalled, but set forth and corroborated in detail, the story of all the judicial crimes and villainies that have been committed during the ten years since the transfer of the law-courts to the Senate. The people of Rome shall 38
learn from me how it is that, so long as the law-courts were in the hands of the Equestrian Order, for nearly fifty years together, not even the faintest suspicion rested upon one single Roman knight, gentlemen, when sitting as a judge, of accepting a bribe to give a particular verdict; how it is that, when the courts had been transferred to the Senatorial Order, and the power of the people over you as individuals had been taken away, Quintus Calidius observed, upon being convicted, that a man of praetorian rank could not decently be convicted for less than thirty thousand pounds[a]; how it is that, when Quintus Hortensius was president of the Extortion Court, the penalty inflicted on the condemned senator Publius Septimius was assessed with express reference to the fact of his having received a bribe as judge; that in the cases 39
of the senators Gaius Herennius and Gaius Popilius, who were both found guilty of embezzlement, and of Marcus Atilius, who was found guilty of treason, the

damnatus est, hoc planum factum est, eos pecuniam
ob rem iudicandam accepisse; quod inventi sunt
senatores qui C. Verre praetore urbano sortiente
exirent in eum reum quem incognita causa con-
demnarent; quod inventus est senator qui, cum iudex
esset, in eodem iudicio et ab reo pecuniam acciperet
quam iudicibus divideret et ab accusatore ut reum
40 damnaret. Iam vero quo modo illam labem ignomi-
niam calamitatemque totius ordinis conquerar, hoc
factum esse in hac civitate, cum senatorius ordo
iudicaret, ut discoloribus signis iuratorum hominum
sententiae notarentur? Haec omnia me diligenter
severeque acturum esse polliceor.

XIV. Quo me tandem animo fore putatis, si quid
in hoc ipso iudicio intellexero simili aliqua ratione
esse violatum atque commissum? cum praesertim
planum facere multis testibus possim C. Verrem in
Sicilia, multis audientibus, saepe dixisse se habere
hominem potentem cuius fiducia provinciam spoliaret;
neque sibi soli pecuniam quaerere, sed ita triennium
illud praeturae Siciliensis distributum habere ut
secum praeclare agi diceret si unius anni quaestum
in rem suam converteret, alterum patronis et de-
fensoribus traderet, tertium illum uberrimum quae-
stuosissimumque annum totum iudicibus reservaret.
41 Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere quod apud

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[a] This meaning of *exirent in* is conjectural.

[b] This implies that (1) the secrecy of the voting was violated, (2) that it was done because the judges had been bribed, (3) that the takers of bribes could not be trusted. See *Divinatio*, § 24, and this speech, § 17.

fact was established that they had taken bribes as
judges; that when Gaius Verres was presiding at a
trial as City Praetor, senators were found to vote
against [a] a man whom they were condemning without
having attended his trial; that a senator was once
found who, when sitting as a judge, in one and the
same case received money from the accused man
with which to bribe the other judges, and from the
prosecutor to vote for the accused man's condemna-
tion. And now, what words can I find to deplore that 40
foul and disastrous blot upon the honour of our whole
Order, the fact that in this land of ours, with the law-
courts in the Senatorial Order's hands, such a thing
happened as that the voting-tablets, given to judges
who were under oath, were marked with wax of
different colours? [b] With all these facts I promise
you I will deal sternly and faithfully.

XIV. And now what do you conceive that my
feelings will be, if in this very trial I shall find that
any offence of this description has been committed?
For you must note that I can bring many witnesses
to prove that Gaius Verres, when in Sicily, has fre-
quently said, in the presence of many listeners, that
he had a powerful friend in whose protection he
trusted while plundering the province; and that he
was not trying to make money for himself alone, but
had those three years of his Sicilian praetorship so
parcelled out as to feel he would do well if he might
apply the profits of one year to increasing his own
fortune, hand over those of the second year to his
advocates and defenders, and reserve the whole of
the great third year, the richest and most profitable
of the three, for his judges. And this suggests to 41
me the repetition of a remark which I made before

M'. Glabrionem nuper cum in reiciendis iudicibus commemorassem intellexi vehementer populum Romanum commoveri: me arbitrari fore uti nationes exterae legatos ad populum Romanum mitterent ut lex de pecuniis repetundis iudiciumque tolleretur; si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum unum quemque ablaturum putant quantum sibi ac liberis suis satis esse arbitretur: nunc, quod eius modi iudicia sint, tantum unumquemque auferre quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, praetori, iudicibus satis futurum sit; hoc profecto infinitum esse: se avarissimi hominis cupiditati satisfacere posse, nocentissimi victoriae
42 non posse. O commemoranda iudicia praeclaramque existimationem nostri ordinis, cum socii populi Romani iudicia de pecuniis repetundis fieri nolunt, quae a maioribus nostris sociorum causa comparata sunt! An iste umquam de se bonam spem habuisset, nisi de vobis malam opinionem animo imbibisset? Quo maiore etiam, si fieri potest, apud vos odio esse debet quam est apud populum Romanum, cum in avaritia, scelere, periurio vos sui similes esse arbitretur.

43 XV Cui loco, per deos immortales, iudices, consulite ac providete. Moneo praedicoque id quod intellego, tempus hoc vobis divinitus datum esse ut odio, invidia, infamia, turpitudine totum ordinem

[a] The exact sense of *loco* is doubtful: it may be (i.) "critical situation" (*tempori*, *καιρῷ*), (ii.) "weak spot" in your defences, (iii.) "assumption" (so Long translates), "line of argument."

Manius Glabrio recently when the challenging of judges was taking place, and which I could see made a profound impression upon the people of Rome. I said that I believed the day would come when our foreign subjects would be sending deputations to our people, asking for the repeal of the existing law and the abolition of the Extortion Court. Were there no such Court, they imagine that any one governor would merely carry off what was enough for himself and his family: whereas with the courts as they now are, each governor carries off what will be enough to satisfy himself, his advocates and supporters, and his judges and their president: and this is a wholly unlimited amount. They feel that they may meet the demands of a greedy man's cupidity, but cannot meet those of a guilty man's acquittal.
How illustrious are our Courts of Law, how splen- 42
did is the reputation of our Order, if the allies of Rome desire the abolition of that very Extortion Court which our ancestors established for those allies' benefit! Would Verres, indeed, ever have cherished fair hopes for himself, had his mind not been saturated with this foul opinion of you? An opinion that should make him yet more loathsome, if that be possible, to you than to the Roman people, this man who believes you to be as avaricious, as criminal, as false and perjured as he is himself.

XV. Now I entreat you, gentlemen, in God's 43
name to take thought, and to devise measures, to meet this state of affairs.[a] I would warn you and solemnly remind you of what is clear to me, that heaven itself has granted you this opportunity of delivering our whole Order from unpopularity and hatred, from dishonour and disgrace. Men reckon

liberetis. Nulla in iudiciis severitas, nulla religio, nulla denique iam existimantur esse iudicia. Itaque a populo Romano contemnimur, despicimur: gravi
44 diuturnaque iam flagramus infamia. Neque enim ullam aliam ob causam populus Romanus tribuniciam potestatem tanto studio requisivit; quam cum poscebat, verbo illam poscere videbatur, re vera iudicia poscebat. Neque hoc Q. Catulum, hominem sapientissimum atque amplissimum, fugit, qui Cn. Pompeio, viro fortissimo et clarissimo, de tribunicia potestate referente cum esset sententiam rogatus, hoc initio est summa cum auctoritate usus, patres conscriptos iudicia male et flagitiose tueri: quodsi in rebus iudicandis populi Romani existimationi satis facere voluissent, non tanto opere homines fuisse tribuni-
45 ciam potestatem desideraturos. Ipse denique Cn. Pompeius cum primum contionem ad urbem consul designatus habuit, ubi (id quod maxime exspectari videbatur) ostendit se tribuniciam potestatem restiturum, factus est in eo strepitus et grata contionis admurmuratio. Idem in eadem contione cum dixisset populatas vexatasque esse provincias, iudicia autem turpia et flagitiosa fieri; ei rei se providere ac consulere velle: tum vero non strepitu, sed maximo

that our courts of law have no strictness left, no conscience—nay, by now, no existence worth the name. The result is that we are contemned and despised by the people of Rome. We have been groaning, and that for many years, under a heavy load of infamy. Let me tell you that it was for this reason, 44
and for no other, that the people of Rome have expressed so strong a desire for the restoration of the powers of the tribunes. Their demand for that was but nominally and apparently a demand for the thing itself: their real demand was for honest law-courts. This fact was not missed by that wise and eminent man Quintus Catulus. When our distinguished general Gnaeus Pompeius introduced his measure to restore the powers of the tribunes, Catulus, on being called upon to speak, began his speech with a most impressive declaration, that the members of that House were proving ineffective and immoral guardians of our courts of justice; and that had they only chosen, in their capacity as judges, to maintain the honour of Rome, people would not have felt so acutely their loss of the tribunes' powers. In fact, when Gnaeus Pompeius himself, as consul- 45
elect, for the first time addressed a public meeting near the city, and, in accordance with what appeared to be a very general expectation, declared his intention of restoring the powers of the tribunes, his words elicited a murmuring noise of grateful approval from the assembly: but when he observed, in the course of the same speech, that our provinces had been wasted and laid desolate, that our law-courts were behaving scandalously and wickedly, and that he meant to take steps to deal with this evil—then it was with no mere murmur, but with a mighty

clamore, suam populus Romanus significavit voluntatem.

46 XVI. Nunc autem homines in speculis sunt; observant quem ad modum sese unus quisque vestrum gerat in retinenda religione conservandisque legibus. Vident adhuc post legem tribuniciam unum senatorem vel tenuissimum esse damnatum; quod tametsi non reprehendunt, tamen magno opere quod laudent non habent; nulla est enim laus ibi esse integrum ubi nemo est qui aut possit aut conetur
47 corrumpere. Hoc est iudicium in quo vos de reo, populus Romanus de vobis iudicabit. In hoc homine statuetur possitne senatoribus iudicantibus homo nocentissimus pecuniosissimusque damnari. Deinde est eius modi reus in quo homine nihil sit praeter summa peccata maximamque pecuniam; ut, si liberatus sit, nulla alia suspicio nisi ea quae turpissima est residere possit; non gratia, non cognatione, non aliis recte factis, non denique aliquo mediocri vitio, tot tantaque eius vitia sublevata esse videbuntur.
48 Postremo ego causam sic agam, iudices, eius modi res, ita notas, ita testatas, ita magnas, ita manifestas proferam, ut nemo a vobis ut istum absolvatis per gratiam conetur contendere. Habeo autem certam viam atque rationem qua omnes illorum conatus

roar, that the people of Rome showed their satisfaction.

XVI. To-day the eyes of the world are upon us, 46
waiting to see how far the conduct of each man among us will be marked by obedience to his conscience and by observance of the law. It is noted that since the passage of the tribunician law a single senator, a man of quite slender means, has been condemned; an act which, though not censured, nevertheless affords no great room for commendation, for integrity cannot be commendable where no man has either the power or the will to corrupt it.
It is the present trial in which, even as you will 47
pass your verdict upon the prisoner, so the people of Rome will pass its verdict upon yourselves. It is this man's case that will determine whether, with a court composed of Senators, the condemnation of a very guilty and very rich man can possibly occur. And further, the prisoner is such that he is distinguished by nothing except his monstrous offences and immense wealth: if, therefore, he is acquitted, it will be impossible to imagine any explanation but the most shameful; it will not appear that there has been any liking for him, any family bond, any record of other and better actions, no, nor even any moderation in some one vice, that could palliate the
number and enormity of his vicious deeds. And 48
lastly, gentlemen, I shall so handle this case, I shall put before you facts of such a kind—so notorious, so well corroborated by evidence, so sweeping, and so convincing—that nobody will seek to urge you to acquit this man as a personal favour. I have a definite plan of procedure by which to unearth and set my hands upon all the intrigues of him and his

investigare et consequi possim; ita res a me agetur ut in eorum consiliis omnibus non modo aures hominum,[1] sed etiam oculi populi Romani interesse videantur.

49 Vos aliquot iam per annos conceptam huic ordini turpitudinem atque infamiam delere ac tollere potestis. Constat inter omnes, post haec constituta iudicia quibus nunc utimur, nullum hoc splendore atque hac dignitate consilium fuisse. Hic si quid erit offensum, omnes homines non iam ex eodem ordine alios magis idoneos, quod fieri non potest, sed alium omnino ordinem ad res iudicandas quaerendum
50 arbitrabuntur. XVII. Quapropter primum ab dis immortalibus, quod sperare mihi videor, hoc idem, iudices, opto, ut in hoc iudicio nemo improbus praeter eum qui iampridem inventus est reperiatur; deinde, si plures improbi fuerint, hoc vobis, hoc populo Romano, iudices, confirmo, vitam mehercule mihi prius quam vim perseverantiamque ad illorum improbitatem persequendam defuturam.

51 Verum quod ego laboribus periculis inimicitiisque meis tum cum admissum erit dedecus severe me persecuturum esse polliceor, id ne accidat, tu tua sapientia, auctoritate, diligentia, M'. Glabrio, potes providere. Suscipe causam iudiciorum; suscipe causam severitatis, integritatis, fidei, religionis: suscipe causam senatus, ut is hoc iudicio probatus cum

[1] hominum *MSS.*: *Peterson emends to* omnium; *needlessly, for* hominum *need not be stressed, nor regarded as antithetical to* populi Romani; *and improbably—can* omnium *possibly mean* "*all of* you"?

friends; and I shall deal with this business in such a fashion that all their stratagems will seem to stand revealed, not merely to men's ears, but to the very eyes of the people of this country.

You have the power of removing and destroying 49
the dishonour and the disgrace that have for several years past attached to this our Order. It is admitted upon all hands that, since these Courts were first constituted in their present shape, no body of judges has assembled of equal eminence and equal distinction. If this body of judges shall in any way come to grief, the universal opinion will be, that for the administration of justice we must seek, not fitter men from the same Order, for none such could be found, but some other Order altogether. XVII. 50
And therefore, gentlemen, in the first place, I pray Heaven to justify the confidence I feel, that no man in this Court will be detected in evil-doing, save that one man whose evil-doing has been long since discovered; and in the next place I declare to you, and, gentlemen, I declare to the people of Rome, that if other evil-doers there shall be, I will, so God help me, sooner lose my life than lose the vigour and the resolution that shall secure their punishment for the evil they have done.

But indeed this same scandal, for which, when 51
once committed, I thus undertake to secure drastic punishment at the cost of toil and danger and hostility to myself, you, Manius Glabrio, with the help of your strength and wisdom and watchfulness, can prevent from coming to pass at all. Be the champion of our courts of law: be the champion of justice and integrity, of honour and conscience: be the champion of the Senate, that it may pass the test

populo Romano et in laude et in gratia esse possit. Cogita quo loco sis,[1] quid dare populo Romano, quid reddere maioribus tuis debeas; fac tibi paternae legis Aciliae veniat in mentem, qua lege populus Romanus de pecuniis repetundis optimis iudiciis
52 severissimisque iudicibus usus est. Circumstant te summae auctoritates, quae te oblivisci laudis domesticae non sinant, quae te noctes diesque commoneant fortissimum tibi patrem, sapientissimum avum, gravissimum socerum fuisse. Quare si Glabrionis patris vim et acrimoniam ceperis ad resistendum hominibus audacissimis, si avi Scaevolae prudentiam ad prospiciendas insidias quae tuae atque horum famae comparantur, si soceri Scauri constantiam ut ne quis te de vera et certa possit sententia demovere: intelleget populus Romanus integerrimo atque honestissimo praetore delectoque consilio nocenti reo magnitudinem pecuniae plus habuisse momenti ad suspicionem criminis quam ad rationem salutis.

53 XVIII. Mihi certum est non committere ut in hac causa praetor nobis consiliumque mutetur. Non patiar rem in id tempus adduci ut quos adhuc servi designatorum consulum non moverunt, cum eos novo exemplo universos arcesserent, eos tum lictores consulum vocent: ut homines miseri, antea socii atque

[1] *Peterson emends the traditional* Cogita qui sis, quo loco sis: qui sis *is not in the MSS.*

[a] This law made the knights judges in such cases.
[b] A Scaevola, probably the great jurist.
[c] Marcus Aemilius Scaurus.
[d] Cicero refers to the incident related in § 27.

of this trial, and recover the esteem and favour of the Roman people. Think of the great place you hold, of the duty that you owe to Rome, and the tribute that you owe to your own ancestors. Remember the Acilian Law,[a] your father's work—the law whereby the nation gained efficient courts and strictly honourable judges to deal with extortion
claims. You are hedged about with an army of 52
great precedents, forbidding you to forget the high honour your family has won, reminding you night and day of your gallant father, of your wise grandfather,[b] of your noble father-in-law.[c] Show therefore the keen vigour of your father Glabrio, by repelling the assaults of unscrupulous knaves; show the foresight of your grandfather Scaevola, by anticipating the plots now being hatched against your honour and the honour of these gentlemen; show the steadfastness of your father-in-law Scaurus, by letting no man succeed in shaking you out of the truth and certainty of your judgement: and the people of Rome shall see, that when a man of high honour and integrity is presiding over a court of chosen judges, the accused, if he be guilty, will find that his vast fortune has tended rather to heighten belief in his guilt than to furnish him with the means of escaping his doom.

XVIII. I am firmly resolved to prevent our having 53
a change of president or judges for the case before us. I will not allow the decision to be delayed to a time when men who, by a gross innovation, have been collectively summoned before a consul-elect by his servants,[d] and who as yet have refused to go, may be ordered before a consul in office by his constables: to a time when those unhappy persons,

amici populi Romani, nunc servi ac supplices, non
modo ius suum fortunasque omnes eorum imperio
amittant, verum etiam deplorandi iuris sui potesta-
54 tem non habeant. Non sinam profecto, causa a me
perorata, quadraginta diebus interpositis, tum nobis
denique responderi cum accusatio nostra in oblivionem
diuturnitatis adducta sit; non committam ut tum
res iudicetur cum haec frequentia totius Italiae Roma
discesserit, quae convenit uno tempore undique comi-
tiorum ludorum censendique causa. Huius iudicii et
laudis fructum et offensionis periculum vestrum,
laborem sollicitudinemque nostram, scientiam quid
agatur, memoriamque quid a quoque dictum sit,
55 omnium puto esse oportere. Faciam hoc non novum,
sed ab iis qui nunc principes nostrae civitatis sunt
ante factum, ut testibus utar statim: illud a me
novum, iudices, cognoscetis, quod ita testes con-
stituam ut crimen totum explicem; ubi id inter-
rogando argumentis atque oratione firmavero, tum
testes ad crimen accommodem: ut nihil inter illam
usitatam accusationem atque hanc novam intersit,
nisi quod in illa tum cum omnia dicta sunt testes
dantur, hic in singulas res dabuntur: ut illis quoque

[a] By appearing to give evidence against Verres.

who were once the allies and friends of Rome, but
now are slaves and suppliants, will not only be
deprived, through these men's official power, of their
rights and their whole fortunes, but will be denied
even the opportunity of remonstrating [a] about their
loss. Assuredly I will not suffer the reply to our 54
case to be made only when forty days have passed
after I have ended my speech for the prosecu-
tion, and the lapse of time has blurred the memory
of the charges we bring. I will not permit the
settlement of this case to be delayed until after the
departure from Rome of these multitudes that have
simultaneously assembled, from all parts of Italy, to
attend the elections, the games, and the census.
As, in this trial, it is for you to reap the reward of
popularity and risk the danger of disapproval, and
for us to face the toil and anxiety involved; so, I
hold, it is for all men to be admitted to the know-
ledge of what shall here take place, and to record in
their memories the words that each speaker shall
utter. My calling of my witnesses at once will be 55
no novelty; that has been done before, and by
men who now hold leading positions in the country.
The novelty that you will note, gentlemen, is this:
I shall so deal with the evidence of my witnesses as
first to state each charge in full, and after supporting
it by questioning, argument, and comment, then to
bring forward my witnesses to that particular charge.
There will thus be no difference between the usual
method of prosecution and this new one of mine,
except that in the former the witnesses are not
called until all the speeches are over, whereas in the
latter they will be called with reference to each
charge in turn: so that, further, our opponents will

eadem interrogandi facultas argumentandi dicendique sit. Si quis erit qui perpetuam orationem accusationemque desideret, altera actione audiet: nunc id quod facimus (ea ratione facimus, ut malitiae illorum consilio nostro occurramus) necessario fieri
56 intellegat. Haec primae actionis erit accusatio. Dicimus C. Verrem, cum multa libidinose, multa crudeliter in cives Romanos atque in socios, multa in deos hominesque nefarie fecerit, tum praeterea quadringentiens sestertium ex Sicilia contra leges abstulisse. Hoc testibus, hoc tabulis privatis publicisque auctoritatibus ita vobis planum faciemus ut hoc statuatis, etiamsi spatium ad dicendum nostro commodo vacuosque dies habuissemus, tamen oratione longa nihil opus fuisse. Dixi.

have the same facilities as ourselves for questions, arguments, and comments. If there is anyone who regrets the absence of the continuous speech for the prosecution, he shall hear it in the second part of the trial: for the moment he must see that our line of action, being directed to thwarting, by rational means, the trickery of our adversaries, is the only
one possible. The scope of the prosecution in the 56
first part of the trial will be this. We submit that Gaius Verres has been guilty of many acts of lust and cruelty towards Roman citizens and Roman allies, of many outrageous offences against God and man; and that he has, moreover, illegally robbed Sicily of four hundred thousand pounds. This fact we will use witnesses, and private records, and official written statements, to make so plain to you that you will conclude that, even had we had days to spare and time to speak at leisure, there would still have been no need to speak at any great length.—I thank you, gentlemen.

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER PRIMUS

1 I. Neminem vestrum ignorare arbitror, iudices, hunc per hosce dies sermonem vulgi atque hanc opinionem populi Romani fuisse, C. Verrem altera actione responsurum non esse neque ad iudicium adfuturum. Quae fama non idcirco solum emanarat quod iste certe statuerat ac deliberaverat non adesse, verum etiam, quod nemo quemquam tam audacem, tam amentem, tam impudentem fore arbitrabatur qui tam nefariis criminibus, tam multis testibus convictus ora iudicum aspicere aut os suum populo Romano
2 ostendere auderet. Est idem Verres qui fuit semper, ut ad audendum proiectus, sic paratus ad audiendum. Praesto est, respondet, defenditur; ne hoc quidem sibi reliqui facit ut, in rebus turpissimis cum manifesto teneatur, si reticeat et absit, tamen impudentiae suae pudentem exitum quaesisse videatur. Patior, iudices, et non moleste fero me laboris mei, vos virtutis vestrae fructum esse laturos. Nam si iste id fecisset quod prius statuerat, ut non adesset, minus aliquanto quam mihi opus esset cognosceretur quid ego in hac

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK I

I. GENTLEMEN: You are probably none of you un- 1
aware that it has during these last few days been the common talk, and the belief of this nation, that Gaius Verres would make no defence at the second hearing, and would not appear in court. The spreading of this report was not due solely to his own definite and deliberate intention not to appear, but also to the universal impression that no man, convicted by so many witnesses of crimes so abominable, could be so recklessly and insanely impudent as to venture to look his judges in their faces, or to show his
own face to the people of Rome. But he is still Verres, 2
true to his name as ever, daring the worst without hesitation, and hearing the worst without reluctance. He is here before us, he replies to me, his defence continues: with his vile offences openly brought home to him, he has not even allowed himself, by holding his tongue and keeping away, the credit of some attempt to make, after all, a decent end to his indecent career. Very well, gentlemen. I am not sorry that I am to reap the reward of my hard work, and you the reward of your courage. Had Verres carried out his original intention of not appearing, the heavy toil that I have undergone, in shaping and building up my case as prosecutor,

accusatione comparanda constituendaque elaborassem; vestra vero laus tenuis plane atque obscura,
3 iudices, esset. Neque hoc a vobis populus Romanus exspectat, neque eo potest esse contentus, si condemnatus sit is qui adesse noluerit, et si fortes fueritis in eo quem nemo sit ausus defendere. Immo vero adsit, respondeat; summis opibus, summo studio potentissimorum hominum defendatur; certet mea diligentia cum illorum omnium cupiditate, vestra integritas cum istius pecunia, testium constantia cum illius patronorum minis atque potentia. Tum demum illa victa videbuntur, cum in contentionem certa-
4 menque venerint. Absens si iste esset damnatus, non tam sibi consuluisse quam invidisse vestrae laudi videretur.

II. Neque enim salus ulla reipublicae maior hoc tempore reperiri potest quam populum Romanum intellegere, diligenter reiectis ab accusatore iudicibus, socios, leges, rempublicam senatorio consilio maxime posse defendi; neque tanta fortunis omnium pernicies potest accedere quam opinione populi Romani rationem veritatis, integritatis, fidei, religionis ab hoc
5 ordine abiudicari. Itaque mihi videor magnam et maxime aegram et prope depositam reipublicae partem suscepisse; neque in eo magis meae quam

would receive somewhat less recognition than my interests demand; and the credit due to you, gentlemen, would be seriously weakened and obscured.
But the Roman people is looking for something 3
better from you than the condemnation of a man who has refused to answer the charge; nor can it be satisfied that you should display your courage by punishing a man whom nobody has ventured to defend. No, no, let him appear by all means, let him make his reply; let him be defended by all the wealth, and by all the energy, of the mightiest in the land. Against my exertions let there be arrayed the passionate eagerness of all his great friends; against your integrity, his money; against the steady testimony of our witnesses, the threats of his powerful advocates. Never can these hostile forces be openly crushed until they have stood up to fight against us.
Had Verres stayed away from his condemnation, it 4
would be felt that he had rather begrudged you your credit than done his best for himself.

II. For indeed, in these days, no surer means of securing our country's welfare can be devised than the assurance of the Roman people that—given the careful challenging of judges by the prosecutor—our allies, our laws, our country can be safely guarded by a court composed of senators; nor can a greater disaster come upon us all than a conviction, on the part of the Roman people, that the Senatorial Order has cast aside all respect for truth and integrity, for
honesty and duty. And I feel in consequence that 5
I have undertaken to rescue an important part of our body politic, a part that is sick unto death and almost beyond recovery; and that, in so doing, I have worked for your credit and your good name not

vestrae laudi existimationique servisse. Accessi enim ad invidiam iudiciorum levandam vituperationemque tollendam; ut, cum haec res pro voluntate populi Romani esset iudicata, aliqua ex parte mea diligentia constituta auctoritas iudiciorum videretur: postremo, utcumque[1] esset hoc iudicatum, ut finis aliquando iudiciariae controversiae constituere-
6 tur. Etenim sine dubio, iudices, in hac causa ea res in discrimen adducitur. Reus est enim nocentissimus; qui si condemnatur, desinent homines dicere his iudiciis pecuniam plurimum posse; sin absolvitur, desinemus nos de iudiciis transferendis recusare.

Tametsi de absolutione istius neque ipse iam sperat nec populus Romanus metuit: de impudentia singulari, quod adest, quod respondet, sunt qui mirentur. Mihi pro cetera eius audacia atque amentia ne hoc quidem mirandum videtur. Multa enim et in deos et in homines impie nefarieque commisit, quorum scelerum poenis agitatur et a mente
7 consilioque deducitur. III. Agunt eum praecipitem poenae civium Romanorum, quos partim securi percussit, partim in vinculis necavit, partim implorantes iura libertatis et civitatis in crucem sustulit. Rapiunt eum ad supplicium di patrii, quod iste inventus est qui e complexu parentum abreptos filios ad necem duceret et parentes pretium pro sepultura liberum posceret. Religiones vero caerimoniaeque omnium

[1] postremo ut MSS., perperam si *Peterson*. *The conjecture in the text gives the required sense.*

less than for my own. For I set about allaying the unpopularity and eliminating the hostile criticism of our courts; intending that, when this case had been decided as the Roman people would have it decided, the stronger position thus gained for our courts might be attributed, in some small measure, to my exertions; and that, finally, whatever the decision were, the present controversy about the courts should at
last be terminated. For undoubtedly, gentlemen, 6
the issue in the present case is nothing less than this. The man accused is a criminal of the worst kind. If he is found guilty, people will cease to say that money is the chief power in these courts: but if he is acquitted, we shall cease to hesitate about putting the courts into other hands.

Yet his acquittal, after all, is a thing of which he himself is no longer hopeful, and Rome no longer afraid. It is his matchless effrontery in appearing here, in answering his accusers, that some find surprising. To me, remembering the rest of his reckless and insane career, even this is nothing to cause surprise. The thought of retribution for his evil deeds, for his sins against heaven and his crimes against man, is distracting his mind and expelling
good sense and sanity. III. He is being swept into 7
madness by those executions of Roman citizens, whom he either beheaded, or imprisoned till they died, or, while they appealed in vain for their rights as free men and Romans, crucified. The gods of our fathers are haling him off to punishment, because he was found capable of tearing sons from their fathers' arms to be dragged to execution, and of making parents buy of him the right to bury their children. And all the shrines and sacred places whose sanctity

sacrorum fanorumque violatae, simulacraque deorum, quae non modo ex suis templis ablata sunt, sed etiam iacent in tenebris ab isto retrusa atque abdita, consistere eius animum sine furore atque amentia non
8 sinunt. Neque iste mihi videtur se ad damnationem solum offerre, neque hoc avaritiae supplicio communi, qui se tot sceleribus obstrinxerit, contentus esse: singularem quandam poenam istius immanis atque importuna natura desiderat. Non id solum quaeritur, ut isto damnato bona restituantur iis quibus erepta sunt, sed et religiones deorum immortalium expiandae et civium Romanorum cruciatus multorumque innocentium sanguis istius supplicio
9 luendus est. Non enim furem sed ereptorem, non adulterum sed expugnatorem pudicitiae, non sacrilegum sed hostem sacrorum religionumque, non sicarium sed crudelissimum carnificem civium sociorumque in vestrum iudicium adduximus; ut ego hunc unum eius modi reum post hominum memoriam fuisse arbitrer cui damnari expediret.

IV. Nam quis hoc non intellegit, istum absolutum dis hominibusque invitis tamen ex manibus populi Romani eripi nullo modo posse? Quis hoc non perspicit, praeclare nobiscum actum iri si populus Romanus istius unius supplicio contentus fuerit, ac non sic statuerit, non istum maius in sese scelus conce-

and worship he has defiled, and all the images of the gods that are not merely removed from their own temples but stowed away by him in dark neglected corners, these leave his mind no quietness, no freedom from the ravings of insanity. I feel, moreover, 8
that he is not presenting himself for a mere verdict of condemnation; that, being involved in the guilt of so many crimes, he cannot be satisfied with that penalty for greed which other men suffer. It must be some unique punishment which this savage and monstrous creature craves. The demand is not simply that he should be found guilty, and the property that he stole be restored to its owners: there must also be expiation for the violated sanctity of the immortal gods; his punishment must atone for the torturing of Roman citizens, for the blood of many an innocent man that he has shed. It is no common 9
thief, but a violent robber; no common adulterer, but the ravager of all chastity; no common profaner, but the grand enemy of all that is sacred and holy; no common murderer, but the cruel butcher of our citizens and our subjects, whom we have haled before your judgement-seat: so vile, that I conceive him to be the one man in history who, arraigned as he is arraigned, could gain, not lose, by a verdict of condemnation.

IV. For who cannot see that, though he were acquitted in despite of God and man, yet no power can deliver him from the hands of the people of Rome? Who cannot perceive that we senators shall be fortunate indeed, if the people of Rome may be appeased by the punishment of this one man, and shall not pronounce the heavier judgement, that plunged deep in evil deeds though Verres is—though

pisse, cum fana spoliarit, cum tot homines innocentes
necarit, cum cives Romanos morte, cruciatu, cruce
affecerit, cum praedonum duces accepta pecunia
dimiserit, quam eos, si qui istum tot, tantis, tam
nefariis sceleribus coopertum iurati sententia sua
10 liberarint? Non est, non est in hoc homine cuiquam
peccandi locus, iudices: non is est reus, non id tem-
pus, non id consilium, (metuo ne quid arrogantius
apud tales viros videar dicere) ne actor quidem est is
cui reus tam nocens, tam perditus, tam convictus aut
occulte surripi aut impune eripi possit. His ego iu-
dicibus non probabo C. Verrem contra leges pecuniam
cepisse? Sustinebunt tales viri se tot senatoribus,
tot equitibus Romanis, tot civitatibus, tot hominibus
honestissimis ex tam illustri provincia, tot populorum
privatorumque litteris non credidisse? Tantae populi
11 Romani voluntati restitisse? Sustineant: reperie-
mus, si istum vivum ad aliud iudicium perducere
poterimus, quibus probemus istum in quaestura pe-
cuniam publicam Cn. Carboni consuli datam avertisse,
quibus persuadeamus istum alieno nomine a quae-
storibus urbanis, quod priore actione didicistis,
pecuniam abstulisse; erunt qui et in eo quoque au-
daciam eius reprehendant, quod aliquot nominibus de
capite quantum commodum fuerit frumenti decumani
detraxerit; erunt etiam fortasse, iudices, qui illum

he has despoiled sanctuaries, butchered a multitude
of innocent persons, slain and tortured and crucified
citizens of Rome, and taken bribes to let pirate chiefs
go free—yet he is no guiltier than those who, sworn
to vote truly, have voted for the acquittal of this
man loaded with so many monstrous and horrible
crimes? This man's case offers no liberty for mis- 10
conduct to anyone: no, gentlemen, none: the
accused is such, the times are such, this court is
such, and even—if it will not seem a presumptuous
thing to say to an audience like this—the prosecutor
is such, that neither stealth can effect without detec-
tion, nor force effect with impunity, the escape of a
man so guilty, so abandoned, so clearly convicted of
the charges brought against him. Before such a
bench of judges as this, shall I fail to prove that
Gaius Verres has acquired wealth illegally? Will
such gentlemen as these succeed in disbelieving this
multitude of Senators and Knights, of civic bodies,
of respectable inhabitants of that noble province, of
public and private records? Will they succeed in
refusing what the people of Rome so strongly de-
sires? Suppose that they do: if I am able to bring 11
him alive before another court, I shall find others to
convince that in his quaestorship he embezzled public
money assigned to the consul Gnaeus Carbo, others
whom I can make believe what you were told at the
first hearing, that he used another man's name to
embezzle money from the city quaestors: there will
also be some to censure his unscrupulous tampering
with various accounts, whereby he abstracted as much
as he conveniently could from the total of the Sicilian
tithe-corn: there will also, gentlemen, possibly be
some who hold that one of his peculations should

eius peculatum vel acerrime vindicandum putent, quod iste M. Marcelli et P. Africani monumenta, quae nomine illorum, re vera populi Romani et erant et habebantur, ex fanis religiosissimis et ex urbibus sociorum atque amicorum non dubitarit auferre. V.
12 Emerserit ex peculatus etiam iudicio: meditetur de ducibus hostium quos accepta pecunia liberavit; videat quid de illis respondeat quos in eorum locum subditos domi suae reservavit; quaerat non solum quem ad modum nostro crimini, verum etiam quo pacto suae confessioni, possit mederi; meminerit se priore actione, clamore populi Romani infesto atque inimico excitatum, confessum esse duces praedonum a se securi non esse percussos, se iam tum esse veritum ne sibi crimini daretur eos ab se pecunia liberatos; fateatur id quod negari non potest, se privatum hominem praedonum duces vivos atque incolumes domi suae, posteaquam Romam redierit, usque dum per me licuerit retinuisse. Hoc in illo maiestatis iudicio si licuisse sibi ostenderit, ego oportuisse concedam. Ex hoc quoque evaserit: proficiscar eo quo me
13 iampridem vocat populus Romanus; de iure enim libertatis et civitatis suum putat esse iudicium, et recte putat. Confringat iste sane vi sua consilia senatoria, quaestiones omnium perrumpat, evolet ex vestra severitate: mihi credite, artioribus apud

be punished quite severely, that of the memorials of Marcus Marcellus and Publius Africanus, nominally the gifts of those great men, but really, as all held, the gifts of the Roman nation; of which memorials he did not hesitate to strip the holiest sanctuaries and the cities of our allies and friends. V. Suppose 12
that he eludes the Embezzlement Court also. Then let him ponder that matter of the enemy captains whom he was bribed to set free; let him consider his reply when questioned about the men whom he secretly substituted for those captains and kept shut up in his house; let him ask himself not only how he is to answer the charge we bring, but how he is to explain away his own admissions; let him remember how, during the first hearing, terrified by the angry clamour of the hostile public, he confessed that he had failed to have those pirate captains beheaded, and had been afraid at the time that he would be charged with taking bribes to set them free; let him admit what cannot be denied, that when no longer in office, after his return to Rome, he kept those pirate chiefs alive and unharmed at his own house until I interfered to prevent it. Let him show if he can, before the Treason Court, that this conduct was even legal, and I will concede that it was his positive duty. Suppose that he escapes this danger too. I will then approach that tribunal to which I have long been invited by the voice of the Roman nation: for the rights of the free man 13
and the citizen it holds, and justly holds, to be within its own jurisdiction. Granted that Verres' violence may break the ranks of senatorial bodies, force a path through every Criminal Court, and escape the rigour of your judgement: believe me,

populum Romanum laqueis tenebitur. Credet iis equitibus Romanis populus Romanus qui ad vos antea producti testes ipsis inspectantibus ab isto civem Romanum, qui cognitores homines honestos daret,
14 sublatum esse in crucem dixerunt. Credent omnes v. et xxx. tribus homini gravissimo atque ornatissimo M. Annio, qui se praesente civem Romanum securi percussum esse dixit. Audietur a populo Romano vir primarius, eques Romanus, L. Flavius, qui suum familiarem Herennium, negotiatorem ex Africa, cum eum Syracusis amplius centum cives Romani cognoscerent lacrimantesque defenderent, pro testimonio dixit securi esse percussum. Probabit fidem et auctoritatem et religionem suam L. Suettius, homo omnibus ornamentis praeditus, qui iuratus apud vos dixit multos cives Romanos in lautumiis istius imperio crudelissime per vim morte esse multatos. Hanc ego causam cum agam beneficio populi Romani de loco superiore, non vereor ne aut istum vis ulla ex populi Romani suffragiis eripere aut a me ullum munus aedilitatis amplius aut gratius populo Romano esse possit.

15 VI. Quapropter omnes in hoc iudicio conentur omnia; nihil est iam quod in hac causa peccare quisquam, iudices, nisi vestro periculo possit. Mea quidem ratio cum in praeteritis rebus est cognita, tum

[a] Witnesses to the fact of his being a Roman citizen.
[b] The famous quarries of Syracuse.
[c] The offences mentioned in §§ 11-14 are all fully dealt with later, most of them in Book V.

the cords will bind him more tightly when he stands before the Roman people. The Roman people will believe those Roman knights who, called to give evidence before you, affirmed that a Roman citizen, though he produced respectable men as his guarantors,[a] was crucified before their own eyes. All the 14
thirty-five Tribes will believe a man of so much responsibility and distinction as Marcus Annius, who has stated that, in his presence, a Roman citizen was beheaded. The people of Rome will listen to the words of so important a person as the knight Lucius Flavius, who has given evidence on oath that his acquaintance Herennius, a banker from Africa, was beheaded at Syracuse, although upwards of a hundred Roman citizens identified him there, and pleaded for him with tears in their eyes. Honour, dignity, and conscience will confirm the words of a man so distinguished in all respects as Lucius Suettius, who has testified on oath before you to the cruel and violent death inflicted on many Roman citizens in the stone-quarries [b] by Verres' orders.[c] As I conduct that prosecution from the high place where the favour of the Roman people has set me, I have no fear that violence of any kind will rescue him from the Roman people's verdict, nor that any other spectacle that I offer them as aedile can appear to them more splendid or afford them greater pleasure.

VI. Accordingly, in dealing with this Court, let all 15
the world do its worst: for in this case, gentlemen, no room for misconduct is now left to any of you, save at great risk to yourselves. My own line of action, familiar to you from what has happened already, has been planned and thought out for what

in reliquis explorata atque provisa est. Ego meum studium in rem publicam iam illo tempore ostendi cum longo intervallo veterem consuetudinem rettuli, et rogatu sociorum atque amicorum populi Romani, meorum autem necessariorum, nomen hominis audacissimi detuli. Quod meum factum lectissimi viri atque ornatissimi (quo in numero e vobis complures fuerunt) ita probarunt ut ei qui istius quaestor fuisset, et ab isto laesus inimicitias iustas persequeretur, non modo deferendi nominis, sed ne subscribendi quidem, cum id postularet, facerent
16 potestatem. In Siciliam sum inquirendi causa profectus; quo in negotio industriam meam celeritas reditionis, diligentiam multitudo litterarum et testium declaravit; pudorem vero ac religionem quod, cum venissem senator ad socios populi Romani, qui in ea provincia quaestor fuissem, ad hospites meos ac necessarios causae communis defensor deverti potius quam ad eos qui a me auxilium petivissent. Nemini meus adventus labori aut sumptui neque publice neque privatim fuit; vim in inquirendo tantam habui quantam mihi lex dabat, non quantam habere pote-
17 ram ipsorum[1] studio, quos iste vexarat. Romam ut ex Sicilia redii, cum iste atque istius amici, homines lauti et urbani, sermones eius modi dissipassent, quo animos testium retardarent, me magna pecunia a vera accusatione esse deductum; tametsi probabatur nemini, quod et ex Sicilia testes erant ii

[1] ipsorum *Mueller*: istorum *MSS.*, *retained by Peterson.*

is still to come. I showed my love of my country from the moment when I returned, after a long interval, to my former practice, and at the request of allies and friends of Rome, who were also my own acquaintances, prosecuted this bold miscreant. My action was so cordially approved by persons of high character and distinction, including several of yourselves, that they refused to the man who had been Verres' quaestor, and who had a personal quarrel with Verres justified by the harm Verres had done him, not only the opportunity of prosecuting him, but even, though he asked for it, that of supporting the prosecution. I went off to collect evidence in Sicily: 16
in which matter my energy was indicated by the earliness of my return; my carefulness, by the crowd of documents and witnesses I secured; my conscientious regard for propriety, by the way in which, though I was a senator visiting Roman allies in the province where I had been a quaestor, and though I was the champion of the whole community, I nevertheless stayed at the houses of my old hosts and personal acquaintances, rather than with those who had appealed to me for help. Nowhere did my coming cause trouble or expense, official or unofficial, to anyone. I pushed my inquiries with no more advantage than the law allowed me, neglecting that which the enthusiasm of Verres' victims was ready to give me. Upon my return from Sicily to Rome, 17
Verres and his friends, with characteristic good taste and delicacy, tried to discourage my witnesses by circulating stories of my having accepted a heavy bribe to make my prosecution a sham: and although none of the witnesses believed this—those from Sicily being men who had learnt my character

qui quaestorem me in provincia cognoverant, et hinc homines maxime illustres, qui, ut ipsi noti sunt, sic nostrum unum quemque optime norunt, tamen usque eo timui ne quis de mea fide atque integritate dubitaret donec ad reiciundos iudices venimus.

VII. Sciebam in reiciundis iudicibus nonnullos memoria nostra pactionis suspicionem non vitasse, cum in ipsa accusatione eorum industria ac diligentia
18 probaretur. Ita reieci iudices ut hoc constet, post hunc statum reipublicae quo nunc utimur simili splendore et dignitate consilium nullum fuisse. Quam iste laudem communem sibi ait esse mecum; qui cum P. Galbam iudicem reiecisset M. Lucretium retinuit, et cum eius patronus ex eo quaereret cur suos familiarissimos, Sex. Peducaeum, Q. Considium, Q. Iunium reici passus esset, respondit quod eos in iudicando nimium sui iuris sententiaeque
19 cognosset. Itaque iudicibus reiectis sperabam iam onus meum vobiscum esse commune; putabam non solum notis sed etiam ignotis probatam meam fidem esse et diligentiam. Quod me non fefellit; nam comitiis meis, cum iste infinita largitione contra me uteretur, populus Romanus iudicavit istius pecuniam, quae apud me contra fidem meam nihil potuisset, apud se contra honorem meum nihil posse debere. Quo

[a] Sulla's constitution, now ten years old.

when I was quaestor in the province, and those from Rome men of shining reputation, to whom my character, and that of each of my supporters, is as familiar as their own is familiar to the world—none the less I did feel misgivings lest my honour and integrity should be distrusted, until we came to the challenging of the judges.

VII. In the challenging of judges, I well knew that in our time there had been those who had not escaped the suspicion of underhand dealing, active and strenuous as they had proved themselves in their
conduct of the prosecution itself. As the result of 18
my own challenging, it is agreed that never, since the present form of government [a] was established, has a court of such illustrious and acknowledged merit assembled. The credit for this Verres claims to share with me: Verres, who rejected Publius Galba as a judge, and kept in Marcus Lucretius, and when his advocate asked him why he had allowed his intimate friends Sextus Peducaeus, Quintus Considius, and Quintus Junius to be rejected, replied that it was because he knew they were too inde-
pendent in the way they thought and voted! Well 19
then, the challenging of the judges being over, I began to hope that part of my burden was now resting upon you, and to feel that my honesty and watchfulness had been approved by those whom I did not know as well as by those whom I did. Nor was I mistaken; for at my election, in spite of the vast sums of money that Verres lavished to secure my defeat, the Roman people expressed their judgement that, since the man's money had not so prevailed with me as to damage my honour, it must not so prevail with them as to damage my success. And

quidem die primum, iudices, citati in hunc reum consedistis, quis tam iniquus huic ordini fuit, quis tam novarum rerum iudiciorum iudicumque cupidus, qui non aspectu consessuque vestro commoveretur?
20 Cum in eo vestra dignitas mihi fructum diligentiae referret, id sum assecutus, ut una hora qua coepi dicere reo audaci, pecunioso, profuso, perdito spem iudicii corrumpendi praeciderem; ut primo die testium tanto numero citato populus Romanus iudicaret isto absoluto rempublicam stare non posse; ut alter dies amicis istius ac defensoribus non modo spem victoriae sed etiam voluntatem defensionis auferret; ut tertius dies sic hominem prosterneret ut, morbo simulato, non quid responderet, sed quem ad modum non responderet deliberaret. Deinde reliquis diebus his criminibus, his testibus, et urbanis et provincialibus, sic obrutus atque oppressus est ut his ludorum diebus interpositis nemo istum comperendinatum sed condemnatum iudicaret.

21 VIII. Quapropter ego, quod ad me attinet, iudices, vici: non enim spolia C. Verris sed existimationem populi Romani concupivi. Meum fuit cum causa accedere ad accusandum: quae causa fuit honestior quam a tam illustri provincia defensorem constitui et

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[a] This account of the proceedings at the first hearing is, of course, at least partly fictitious. Compare §§ 1-2, and see the last paragraph of the Introduction, p. xix. We do not know how many days the trial lasted before the defence was abandoned.

indeed, gentlemen, on the day when you were first called together, and took your seats to try this man, was there anyone so hostile to the Senatorial Order, anyone so eager for new arrangements, new courts, and new judges, as not to be deeply impressed by
the sight of you thus assembled? The very fact of 20
this noble spectacle was a reward to me for my patient endeavours; but I gained more than this. Before my first speech had lasted for an hour, I had cut short, in the mind of this wealthy scoundrel and immoral spendthrift, his hopes of bribing the judges who were to try him. On the first day of the trial, when that great multitude of witnesses was called into court, it became clear to the people of Rome that if Verres were acquitted the country was lost. The following day took from his friends and defenders not merely all hope of success, but all disposition to continue the defence. The third day prostrated the man so completely that he feigned illness, and began to think, not about what reply to make, but how to avoid replying at all. The charges brought on the rest of the days that followed, and the evidence produced from both Rome and Sicily, crushed and overwhelmed him so thoroughly that during this interval for the Games everyone regarded his case not as adjourned but as already settled against him.[a]

VIII. The result is, gentlemen, that so far as I 21
am concerned my case is won; for it is not a triumph over Gaius Verres, but the vindication of the honour of Rome, on which my heart has been set. My duty has been to have good reason for undertaking the prosecution; and what reason could be more honourable than to be selected and appointed by so famous

deligi? rei publicae consulere: quid tam e re publica quam in tanta invidia iudiciorum adducere hominem cuius damnatione totus ordo cum populo Romano et in laude et in gratia possit esse? ostendere ac persuadere hominem nocentem adductum esse: quis est in populo Romano qui hoc non ex priore actione abstulerit, omnium ante damnatorum scelera, furta, flagitia, si unum in locum conferantur, vix cum huius
22 parva parte aequari conferrique posse? Vos, quod ad vestram famam existimationem salutemque communem pertinet, iudices, prospicite atque consulite. Splendor vester facit ut peccare sine summo rei publicae detrimento ac periculo non possitis. Non enim potest sperare populus Romanus esse alios in senatu qui recte possint iudicare, vos si non potueritis; necesse est, cum de toto ordine desperarit, aliud genus hominum atque aliam rationem iudiciorum requirat. Hoc si vobis ideo levius videtur quod putatis onus esse grave et incommodum iudicare, intellegere debetis primum interesse utrum id onus vosmet ipsi reieceritis, an, quod probare populo Romano fidem vestram et religionem non potueritis, eo vobis iudicandi potestas erepta sit; deinde etiam illud cogitare, quanto periculo venturi simus ad eos iudices quos propter odium nostri populus Romanus

a province to defend it? My duty has been to think of our country; and what could help our country better than meeting the unpopularity of our courts by bringing a man to trial whose condemnation would be enough to secure, for our whole Order, the approval and favour of the Roman people? My duty has been to prove, and to make it believed, that the man thus brought to trial is guilty; and is there one single Roman who has not come away from the first hearing convinced of this, that if we could gather together in one the crimes and robberies and wicked deeds of every man found guilty in the past, they could hardly be held equal, or comparable,
to the tithe of what this man has done? You, 22
gentlemen, you must take thought and make provision for what concerns the credit, the good name, the safe existence of you all. Your eminent merit makes misconduct impossible for you, save at the cost of extreme injury and danger to the state. For the Roman people cannot hope that, if you cannot give a righteous verdict, there may be other members of the Senate who can: it can only despair of the whole Senatorial Order, and therefore look round for some other type of man, and some other method of administering justice. If you think this no great matter, because you regard your judicial duties as a heavy and irksome burden, you must in the first place remember that it is one thing to cast this burden off of your own accord, and another thing, through inability to prove yourselves honest and conscientious in the eyes of Rome, to have your judicial powers taken from you; and then you must further consider the grave risks we shall run when we appear before those men whom, through hatred of

23 de nobis voluerit iudicare. Verum vobis dicam id quod intellexi, iudices. Homines scitote esse quosdam quos tantum odium nostri ordinis teneat ut hoc palam iam dictitent, se istum, quem sciant esse hominem improbissimum, hoc uno nomine absolvi velle, ut ab senatu iudicia per ignominiam turpitudinemque auferantur. Haec me pluribus verbis, iudices, vobiscum agere coegit non timor meus de vestra fide, sed spes illorum nova, quae cum Verrem a porta subito ad iudicium retraxisset, nonnulli suspicati sunt non sine causa illius consilium tam repente esse mutatum.

24 IX. Nunc, ne novo querimoniae genere uti possit Hortensius et ea dicere, opprimi reum de quo nihil dicat accusator, nihil esse tam periculosum fortunis innocentium quam tacere adversarios; et ne aliter quam ego velim meum laudet ingenium cum dicat me, si multa dixissem, sublevaturum fuisse eum quem contra dicerem, quia non dixerim, perdidisse: morem illi geram, utar oratione perpetua; non quoniam hoc sit necesse, verum ut experiar utrum ille ferat molestius me tunc tacuisse an nunc dicere.

25 Hic tu fortasse eris diligens, ne quam ego horam de meis legitimis horis remittam; nisi omni tempore quod mihi lege concessum est abusus ero, querere,

us, the Roman people will desire to set up as judges of our conduct. Yes, and I will tell you one thing, 23
gentlemen, that I have discovered. You must know that there are certain persons possessed by such hatred of our Order that they are already saying, openly and often, that they wish for the acquittal of Verres, thorough scoundrel as they know him to be, simply for the sake of having the Senate deprived, with ignominy and shame, of its judicial rights. I have felt bound to enlarge on this topic to you, gentlemen, not through any fear of mine that you cannot be trusted, but because of the new-born hopes of Verres and his friends, which have suddenly dragged him back to this court-house from the city gate, and thus led some people to suspect that he had some good reason for so hasty a change in his plans.

IX. I have now to see to it that Hortensius has 24
no ground for a new form of protest, for saying that any man's case is ruined by his prosecutor's refusing to make a speech, and that nothing endangers the happiness of innocent persons so gravely as the silence of their assailants; no ground for offering an unwelcome commendation of my ability, by saying that, if I had made a long attack, I should have helped the man I was attacking, and that I have ruined him by not making one; and I will therefore oblige him by delivering a continuous speech, not because it is needed, but because I would learn whether he objects more strongly to my silence then or to my speaking now. You, Hortensius, will now 25
be watching carefully, I daresay, to see that I do not forgo one hour of the time that the law allows me. Unless I use every minute of my full legal time, you

deum atque hominum fidem implorabis, circumveniri C. Verrem quod accusator nolit tam diu quam diu liceat dicere. Quod mihi lex mea causa dedit, eo mihi non uti non licebit? Nam accusandi mihi tempus mea causa datum est, ut possem oratione mea crimina causamque explicare; hoc si non utor, non tibi iniuriam facio, sed de meo iure aliquid et commodo detraho. "Causam enim" inquit "cognosci oportet." Ea re quidem, quod aliter condemnari reus, quamvis sit nocens, non potest. Id igitur tu moleste tulisti, a me aliquid factum esse quo minus iste condemnari posset? Nam causa cognita multi possunt absolvi, incognita quidem condemnari nemo
26 potest. Adimo enim comperendinatum? Quod habet lex in se molestissimum, bis ut causa dicatur, id aut mea causa potius est constitutum quam tua, aut nihilo tua potius quam mea. Nam si bis dicere est commodum, certe utriusque commune est; si eum qui posterius dixit opus est redargui, accusatoris causa ut bis ageretur constitutum est. Verum, ut opinor, Glaucia primus tulit ut comperendinaretur reus; antea vel iudicari primo poterat vel amplius pronuntiari. Utram igitur putas legem molliorem? opinor illam veterem, qua vel cito absolvi vel tarde

[a] *i.e.*, postponement was (i.) optional, (ii.) shorter or longer, as the court might decide, than the precise period prescribed by Glaucia's law—the Lex Servilia of about 106 B.C.

will be protesting, and calling heaven and earth to witness, that Gaius Verres is being treated unfairly because the prosecutor refuses to go on speaking as long as he lawfully may. May I, then, not lawfully decline a privilege that the law has conferred on me for my own benefit? It certainly is for my own benefit that a certain amount of time was allowed me as prosecutor, enough to set forth my charges and expound my case. If I fail to use it, I do you no wrong; I merely detract, to some extent, from my own rights and my own advantage. "Yes," you say, "but the case ought to be properly investigated." To be sure; and why? Because otherwise, however guilty the accused may be, he cannot be convicted. Is this your grievance, then, that I have done something to make his conviction more difficult? People may often be acquitted when their cases have been investigated: when they have not,
it is impossible to convict. Ah, you say, but I am 26
doing away with the object of the second hearing. Yes, with the most troublesome provision of the law, this compulsory double pleading—an arrangement devised either for my benefit more than for yours, or at least quite as much for mine as for yours; for if it is an advantage to speak twice, the advantage is certainly shared by both sides; and if the great thing is to refute the arguments of the last speaker, this arrangement of a second pleading is for the benefit of the prosecutor. After all, if I am not mistaken, it was Glaucia's law that first provided for the adjourned hearing: before that time, the case could either be settled at once or postponed for further inquiry.[a] Well now, which provision do you consider the milder? Surely the old one, which

condemnari licebat. Ego tibi illam Aciliam legem restituo, qua lege multi semel accusati, semel dicta causa, semel auditis testibus condemnati sunt, nequaquam tam manifestis neque tantis criminibus quantis tu convinceris. Puta te non hac tam atroci, sed illa lege mitissima causam dicere. Accusabo; respondebis; testibus editis, ita mittam in consilium ut, etiamsi lex ampliandi faciat potestatem, tamen isti turpe sibi existiment non primo iudicare.

27 X. Verum si causam cognosci opus est, parumne cognita est? Dissimulamus, Hortensi, quod saepe experti in dicendo sumus. Quis nos magno opere attendit umquam, in hoc quidem genere causarum, ubi aliquid ereptum aut ablatum a quopiam dicitur? nonne aut in tabulis aut in testibus omnis exspectatio iudicum est? Dixi prima actione me planum esse facturum C. Verrem HS quadringentiens contra legem abstulisse. Quid? hoc planius egissem si ita narrassem? "Dio quidam fuit Halaesinus, qui, cum eius filio, praetore Sacerdote, hereditas a propinquo permagna venisset, nihil habuit tum neque negotii neque controversiae. Verres, simul ac tetigit provinciam, statim Messana litteras dedit, Dionem evo-

[a] *i.e.*, your client Verres.

might either hasten an acquittal or delay a conviction. It is this, the old Acilian law, that I am reviving for your benefit—a law under which many a man, after a single prosecution, a single pleading of his case, a single hearing of evidence, has been found guilty of offences not nearly so plainly proved, not nearly so grave, as these of which you[a] are now being convicted. Imagine yourself pleading, not under the existing rigorous law, but under the older and more indulgent. I will prosecute, you will reply, the witnesses will be called; and I will submit such an issue for the verdict of the Court that, however much postponement the law might allow, these gentlemen would be ashamed not to give their verdict forthwith.

X. And after all, granted that the case must be 27 tried, has it not been fully tried already? We are pretending ignorance, Hortensius, of what our experience at the Bar has repeatedly shown to us. In cases of this type, where anyone is alleged to have stolen or appropriated anything, who cares much what we pleaders say? Is not the judges' whole concern with the evidence of the witnesses and written records? I stated, at the first hearing, that I would prove that Gaius Verres had illegally appropriated four hundred thousand pounds. Well, should I have proved it any more clearly by a narrative of the following kind? "There was a man of Halaesa named Dio, whose son inherited a large property from a relative during the praetorship of Gaius Sacerdos; the fact was not disputed at the time, and caused Dio no trouble. Verres had no sooner touched the soil of Sicily, than he promptly wrote from Messana summoning Dio, set up some

cavit, calumniatores ex sinu suo apposuit qui illam hereditatem Veneri Erycinae commissam esse, dicerent, hac de re ostendit se ipsum cogniturum."

28 Possum deinceps totam rem explicare, deinde ad extremum id, quod accidit, dicere: Dionem HS deciens centena millia numerasse, ut causam certissimam obtineret: praeterea greges equarum eius istum abigendos curasse, argenti, vestis stragulae quod fuerit curasse auferendum. Haec neque cum ego dicerem neque cum tu negares magni momenti nostra esset oratio. Quo tempore igitur aures iudex erigeret animumque attenderet? Cum Dio ipse prodiret, cum ceteri qui tum in Sicilia negotiis Dionis interfuissent, cum per eos ipsos dies per quos causam Dio diceret reperiretur pecunias sumpsisse mutuas, nomina sua exegisse, praedia vendidisse, cum tabulae virorum bonorum proferrentur, cum qui pecuniam Dioni dederunt dicerent se iam tum audisse eos nummos sumi ut Verri darentur, cum amici, hospites, patroni Dionis, homines honestissimi, haec eadem se

29 audisse dicerent. Opinor, cum haec fierent, tum vos audiretis, sicut audistis; tum causa agi vere videretur. Sic a me sunt acta omnia priore actione ut in criminibus omnibus nullum esset in quo quisquam vestrum perpetuam accusationem requireret. Nego esse quicquam a testibus dictum quod aut

of his own gang to allege, what they knew to be false, that the property in question was forfeited to Venus of Eryx, and announced that he would try the case himself." I might go on to give a full 28

account of the whole affair, and then finally state, what actually happened, that Dio paid up ten thousand pounds to secure his unquestionable rights, and that, besides this, Verres had his stables emptied of his studs of mares, and his house stripped of all the plate and tapestry it contained. I might state these facts, and you might deny them; but our speeches would matter very little. What would be the time, then, for a judge to prick up his ears and arouse his attention? Why, it would be when Dio himself came forward, and likewise all those persons who had dealings with Dio in Sicily at the time when, during the actual course of his case, it was found that he had borrowed money, called in his debts, and sold his land; it would be when the accounts of those honest gentlemen were produced in court; when those who lent Dio money testified to having heard at the time that he was borrowing it to pay over to Verres; when the excellent men who were Dio's friends, hosts and protectors, testified to having heard exactly the same thing. It was while 29

all this was happening, I take it, that you, gentlemen, would be listening, as indeed you were; it was then that you would feel the real trial was taking place. At the first hearing I conducted the whole of my case in such a fashion that, out of the whole body of charges, there was no single one for which any of you felt the need of a continuous speech from the prosecutor. I maintain that no detail of the witnesses' evidence was unintelligible

vestrum cuipiam esset obscurum aut cuiusquam oratoris eloquentiam quaereret. XI. Etenim sic me ipsum egisse memoria tenetis ut in testibus interrogandis omnia crimina proponerem et explicarem, ut cum rem totam in medio proposuissem, tum denique testem interrogarem. Itaque non modo vos, quibus est iudicandum, nostra crimina tenetis, sed etiam populus Romanus totam accusationem causamque cognovit.

Tametsi ita de meo facto loquor quasi ego illud mea voluntate potius quam vestra iniuria adductus
30 fecerim? Interposuistis accusatorem qui, cum ego mihi c. et x. dies solos in Siciliam postulassem, c. et VIII. sibi in Achaiam postularet. Menses mihi tres cum eripuissetis ad agendum maxime appositos, reliquum omne tempus huius anni me vobis remissurum putastis; ut, cum horis nostris nos essemus usi, tu, binis ludis interpositis, quadragesimo post die responderes, deinde ita tempus duceretur ut a M'. Glabrione praetore et a magna parte horum iudicum ad praetorem alium iudicesque alios veniremus.
31 Hoc si ego non vidissem, si me non omnes noti ignotique monuissent id agi, id cogitari, in eo elaborari, ut res in illud tempus reiiceretur, credo, si meis

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[a] See *Actio Prima*, § 6.

[b] See Introduction, p. xvi.

[c] *Sc.* "as I well might have felt (since it is the regular procedure) but for the discovery of the plot."

to any of you, or required the addition of any pleader's eloquence. XI. And indeed you will remember that my own procedure in examining my witnesses was first to introduce and expound each of the various charges, so that I never examined a witness until I had clearly stated the whole facts of the charge concerned. The result is, not only that the charges we brought are grasped clearly by yourselves, who have to pronounce the verdict, but also that the Roman people have become familiar with the entire case for the prosecution.

Yet why should I speak of my conduct as though I had been led to it by my own inclination, and not by the unfairness of you and your friends,
Hortensius? Upon my asking for no more than 30
110 days to collect evidence in Sicily, you tried to block my way with a prosecutor who asked for two days less to do the same in Achaia.[a] After robbing me of three months particularly well fitted for judicial proceedings,[b] you reckoned on my leaving all the rest of the year free for you; you intended us to take up all the time allowed us, and then, forty days later, after the interval for the two sets of Games, you would begin your speech; and after that the time was to be spun out till we no longer had Manius Glabrio as president, nor the majority of these gentlemen as members of the Court, but had to appear before a new president and new
judges. Had I not discovered all this—had not 31
everyone, friend and stranger alike, pointed out to me that the object of your plots and your schemes and your intrigues was to push back the proceedings to that later date—it is likely indeed that, if I had felt inclined[c] to spend my full time over my speech

horis in accusando uti voluissem, vererer ne mihi crimina non suppeterent, ne oratio deesset, ne vox viresque deficerent, ne, quem nemo prima actione defendere ausus esset, eum ego bis accusare non possem. Ego meum consilium cum iudicibus tum populo Romano probavi; nemo est qui alia ratione istorum iniuriae atque impudentiae potuisse obsisti arbitretur. Etenim qua stultitia fuissem, si, quam diem qui istum eripiendum redemerunt in cautione viderunt, cum ita caverent, "si post Kalendas Ianuarias in consilium iretur," in eam diem ego, cum potuissem vitare, incidissem?

32 Nunc mihi temporis eius quod mihi ad dicendum datur, quoniam in animo est causam omnem exponere, habenda ratio est diligenter. XII. Itaque primum illum actum istius vitae turpissimum et flagitiosissimum praetermittam. Nihil a me de pueritiae suae flagitiis audiet, nihil ex illa impura adulescentia sua, quae qualis fuerit aut meministis aut ex eo quem sui simillimum produxit recognoscere potestis. Omnia praeteribo quae mihi turpia dictu videbuntur, neque solum quid istum audire, verum etiam quid me deceat dicere, considerabo. Vos, quaeso, date hoc et concedite pudori meo ut aliquam
33 partem de istius impudentia reticere possim. Omne illud tempus quod fuit antequam iste ad magistratus remque publicam accessit habeat per me solutum ac

[a] Bribery-agents and the like, who agreed for a lump sum to secure Verres' acquittal: compare *Actio Prima*, § 23, for a somewhat similar contract.

for the prosecution, I should have been deterred by the fear that I should run short of charges to bring; that my eloquence would fail me; that my voice or my strength would give way; that I should be unable to attack a second time the man whom nobody had ventured to defend at the first hearing! I have justified, to the Court and to the people of Rome, the plan I adopted; there is no one who supposes that the shameless unfairness of my opponents could possibly have been thwarted otherwise. What a fool I should have been, indeed, if I had wilfully fallen into the trap of waiting for the very day on which the contractors for Verres' escape[a] had their eyes fixed, when they inserted in their contract the *caveat* "provided that the case shall come on after the 1st of January."

But I must now take careful account of the time 32
allowed me for my speech, since I intend to set forth the case in full. XII. I shall therefore pass over the notoriously vile and immoral "first act" of Verres' career. He shall hear nothing from me of the sins of his boyhood, no tales of his unclean youth—what that was like you either remember or can infer from the faithful copy of himself that he has brought into the world.[b] I will pass over all that I cannot refer to without indecency, and will take into account what it is proper for me to tell, as well as what it is proper for him to be told. Please indulge my sense of modesty so far as to allow me the liberty of holding my tongue about some small part of his shameless career. All those 33
earlier years, up to the time when he entered upon public office and political life, may remain free and

[b] *Produxit* may mean "has brought into court."

liberum. Sileatur de nocturnis eius bacchationibus ac vigiliis; lenonum, aleatorum, perductorum nulla mentio fiat; damna, dedecora, quae res patris eius, aetas ipsius pertulit, praetereantur; lucretur indicia veteris infamiae; patiatur eius vita reliqua me hanc
34 tantam iacturam criminum facere. Quaestor Cn. Papirio consuli fuisti abhinc annos quattuordecim: ex ea die ad hanc diem quae fecisti in iudicium voco. Hora nulla vacua a furto, scelere, crudelitate, flagitio reperietur. Hi sunt anni consumpti in quaestura et legatione Asiatica et praetura urbana et praetura Siciliensi. Quare haec eadem erit quadripertita distributio totius accusationis meae.

XIII. Quaestor ex senatus consulto provinciam sortitus es; obtigit tibi consularis, ut cum consule Cn. Carbone esses eamque provinciam obtineres. Erat tum dissensio civium; de qua nihil sum dicturus quid sentire debueris; unum hoc dico, in eius modi tempore ac sorte statuere te debuisse utrum malles sentire atque defendere. Carbo graviter ferebat sibi quaestorem obtigisse hominem singulari luxuria atque inertia; verum tamen ornabat eum beneficiis officiisque omnibus. Ne diutius teneam, pecunia attributa, numerata est; profectus est quaestor in

clear for him, so far as I am concerned. Let nothing be said about the drunken orgies that lasted all night; let there be no mention of pimps and gamblers and seducers; let his inroads on his father's purse and his defilements of his own manhood, be passed by without a word; let him score, so far as the evidence for his earlier infamy goes; let us consider that the rest of his life enables me to sacrifice all this material for prosecution. Fourteen years ago, Verres, you 34
became quaestor to the consul Gnaeus Papirius.[a] I call you to account for all you have done from that day to this. Not one hour, it will be found, has been free from robbery and crime, from cruelty and wickedness. These years you spent as quaestor, as adjutant in Asia, as city praetor, and as praetor of Sicily; and I shall therefore distribute my speech for the prosecution into four corresponding parts.

XIII. In accordance with a decree of the Senate, your sphere of duty as quaestor was determined by lot.[b] A consular department fell to you; you were to accompany the consul[c] Gnaeus Carbo and be his quaestor. At that time, civil strife prevailed: I am not going to say anything about the side you ought to have taken; but one thing I do say, that at such a crisis, and the lot having fallen as it did, you ought to have made up your mind which side you did mean to take and to support. Carbo was annoyed that the lot had given him as quaestor a particularly lazy and self-indulgent man; none the less, he loaded him with every sort of kindness and attention. To cut the story short: funds were allotted and paid over to the quaestor; he left for his province, and

[a] Gnaeus Papirius Carbo, one of the four Democrat leaders who seized Rome when Sulla left for the east in 87: the other three were Marius, Sertorius, and Cinna.

[b] The usual method: but the Senate might, in any year, assign particular spheres of duty to some or all of the quaestors.

[c] Really "proconsul": *consul* often means this. Carbo was consul during 84. In 83 he went as proconsul to Cisalpine Gaul, to raise troops and secure that region, in view of Sulla's expected return: Verres went with him.

provinciam; venit exspectatus in Galliam ad exercitum consularem cum pecunia. Simul ac primum ei occasio visa est (cognoscite hominis principium magistratuum gerendorum et rei publicae administrandae) aversa pecunia publica quaestor consulem,
35 exercitum, sortem provinciamque deseruit. Video quid egerim: erigit se, sperat sibi auram posse aliquam adflari in hoc crimine voluntatis assensionisque eorum quibus Cn. Carbonis mortui nomen odio sit, quibus illam relictionem proditionemque consulis sui gratam sperat fore. Quasi vero id cupiditate defendendae nobilitatis aut studio partium fecerit, ac non apertissime consulem, exercitum provinciamque compilarit et propter impudentissimum furtum aufugerit. Est enim obscurum et eius modi factum eius, ut possit aliquis suspicari C. Verrem quod ferre novos homines non potuerit ad nobilitatem, hoc est ad suos, transisse, nihil fecisse propter pecuniam.

36 Videamus rationes quem ad modum rettulerit; iam ipse ostendet quam ob rem Cn. Carbonem reliquerit, iam se ipse indicabit. XIV. Primum brevitatem cognoscite. ACCEPI, inquit, VICIENS DUCENTA TRIGINTA QUINQUE MILIA QUADRINGENTOS X. ET VII. NUMMOS. DEDI STIPENDIO, FRUMENTO, LEGATIS, PRO QUAESTORE, COHORTI PRAETORIAE, HS MILLE SESCENTA TRIGINTA QUINQUE MILIA QUADRINGENTOS XVII. NUMMOS. RELIQUI ARIMINI HS SESCENTA MILIA. Hoc est rationes referre? hoc modo aut ego aut tu, Hortensi, aut

[a] Literally, "the lot and his sphere of duty." The lot was held to declare heaven's will, and to impose very sacred obligations on the person chosen by it.

[b] The sesterce may fairly be reckoned as $\frac{1}{100}$ of the £ sterling.

joined the consular army in Gaul with his welcome supply of money. The moment he saw his chance—note the man's first step as a public official and administrator—this precious quaestor embezzled the public money, and deserted his consul, his consul's army, and his sacred duty.[a] Ah, I see what I have 35
done. He is lifting up his head, and hoping that some flimsy defence can be patched up for him, on this charge, through the goodwill of those who hold the late Gnaeus Carbo's memory in abhorrence; he hopes that such persons will be pleased by this desertion and betrayal of his consul. As though his action were inspired by eagerness to support the aristocracy, and by zeal for their cause! As though he did anything but openly fleece consul, army, and province, and then take to his heels in consequence of this impudent robbery! An unintelligible act indeed! and likely to suggest that Gaius Verres deserted to the aristocracy—his own party, of course!—because he could not bear political upstarts, and that he was quite uninfluenced by financial motives!

Let us see how he presented his accounts: he 36
will prove to us himself why he ran away from Carbo; he will give evidence against himself. XIV Note first their conciseness:

Received	2,235,417 sesterces[b]
Expended: soldiers' pay, corn, adjutants, deputy-quaestor, commander's private staff . . .	1,635,417 ,,
Balance left at Ariminum	600,000 sesterces

Is that the way to present accounts? Have you or I, Hortensius, has anyone in the world, ever presented

quisquam hominum rettulit? Quid hoc est? quae impudentia? quae audacia? quod exemplum ex tot hominum rationibus relatis huiusce modi est? Illa tamen HS sescenta milia, quae ne falso quidem potuit quibus data essent describere, quae se Arimini scribit reliquisse, quae ipsa HS sescenta milia reliqua facta sunt, neque Carbo attigit neque Sulla vidit, neque in aerarium relata sunt. Oppidum sibi elegit Ariminum quod tum, cum iste rationes referebat, oppressum direptumque erat; non suspicabatur id quod nunc sentiet, satis multos ex illa calamitate Ariminensium testes nobis in hanc rem reliquos esse.
37 Recita denuo. P. LENTULO L. TRIARIO QUAESTORIBUS URBANIS RES RATIONUM RELATARUM. Recita. EX SENATUS CONSULTO. . . . Ut hoc pacto rationem referre liceret, eo Sullanus repente factus est, non ut honos et dignitas nobilitati restitueretur.

Quodsi illinc inanis profugisses, tamen ista tua fuga nefaria proditio consulis tui conscelerata iudicaretur. "Malus civis, improbus consul, seditiosus homo Cn. Carbo fuit." Fuerit aliis: tibi quando esse coepit? Posteaquam tibi pecuniam, rem frumentariam, rationes omnes suas exercitumque commisit. Nam si tibi antea displicuisset, idem fecisses quod anno post M. Piso: quaestor cum L. Scipioni consuli obtigisset, non attigit pecuniam, non ad exercitum profectus est; quod de republica sensit ita

[a] Lit. "600,000 sesterces."
[b] The first words of some piece of written evidence, possibly by the Ariminum witnesses.

them like that? Confound the man's unscrupulous impudence! What does this mean? Among all the thousands of accounts that have been presented, is there any parallel for this style of thing? Even so, that six thousand pounds,[a] which he could not set down, even untruly, as paid to anyone, which he enters as left at Ariminum, the six thousand that really was left over, was never handled by Carbo or seen by Sulla or paid back to the Treasury. He chose Ariminum for his purpose, because, at the date when he made his return, this town had been taken and plundered: not suspecting, what he will now learn to his cost, that enough people of the town had survived the disaster to give evidence for us about this matter. Read the documents again. 37
Statement of accounts rendered to the City Quaestors, Publius Lentulus and Lucius Triarius. Read this. "*In accordance with the decree of the Senate . . .*"[b] It was to have the chance of rendering his accounts like this that he joined the Sullan party so suddenly, not to restore the power and dignity of the aristocracy.

But had you run off empty-handed, even so your abominable flight would be reckoned a criminal act of treachery to your consul. Oh, you say, Carbo was a bad consul, a traitor and a rebel. Others thought so, perhaps; but when did you begin to think so? Not till after he had trusted you with his money, his supply of corn, the whole of his account-books, and his army. Had you objected to him before that, you would have done what Marcus Piso did the year after. The lot had assigned him as quaestor to the consul Lucius Scipio, but he neither took charge of any money nor went to join Scipio's army; he managed to hold his political

sensit ut nec fidem suam nec morem maiorum nec
38 necessitudinem sortis laederet. XV. Etenim si haec perturbare omnia et permiscere volumus, totam vitam periculosam, insidiosam infestamque reddemus—si nullam religionem sors habebit, nullam societatem coniunctio secundae dubiaeque fortunae, nullam auctoritatem mores atque instituta maiorum. Omnium est communis inimicus qui fuit hostis suorum. Nemo umquam sapiens proditori credendum putavit. Ipse Sulla, cui adventus istius gratissimus esse debuit, ab se hominem atque ab exercitu suo removit: Beneventi esse iussit, apud eos quos suis partibus amicissimos esse intellegebat, ubi iste summae rei causaeque nocere nihil posset. Ei postea praemia tamen liberaliter tribuit, bona quaedam proscriptorum in agro Beneventano diripienda concessit; habuit honorem ut proditori, non ut amico fidem.
39 Nunc quamvis sint homines qui mortuum Cn. Carbonem oderint, tamen hi debent non quid illi accidere voluerint, sed quid ipsis in tali re metuendum sit, cogitare. Commune est hoc malum, communis metus, commune periculum. Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae quam eae quae latent in simulatione officii aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine. Nam eum qui palam est adversarius facile cavendo vitare possis: hoc vero occultum, intestinum ac domesticum malum non

[a] *In tali re* perhaps means "in similar circumstances."

views without violating either his personal honour, or the traditions of Rome, or the loyalty imposed
by the lot. XV. The fact is that if we are prepared 38
to reduce all these principles to chaos and confusion, we shall fill life with danger and resentment and hostility at every turn—if the decisions of the lot are to lose all their sanctity, if men are not to feel bound to one another by sharing in good or bad fortune, if we are not to respect the customs and traditions of our fathers. That man must be everyone's personal enemy who has behaved like a public enemy to his own friends. No wise man ever felt that a traitor ought to be trusted. Sulla himself, who might have been expected to welcome the man, detached him from his person and from his army, stationing him at Beneventum, among people who he knew were thoroughly on his own side, in a place where the fellow would be able to do no harm to the main interests of the Sullan cause. Later on, to be sure, he treated him liberally, and let him have the properties of certain proscribed persons in the district of Beneventum to plunder; he gave him, not the trust due to a friend, but the fee due to a traitor.
There may be those who detest the memory of 39
Carbo: but what such persons have now to consider is not the fate they desired should befall him, but the danger to themselves suggested by behaviour like that of Verres.[a] All of us must be injured by it, all of us alarmed, all of us endangered. No acts of treachery are harder to detect than those which lurk under the false show of loyal service, or some nominal fidelity to a personal obligation. With an open enemy, it is easy to be on your guard and escape him; but this hidden peril, in your own circle and

modo non exsistit, verum etiam opprimit antequam
40 prospicere atque explorare potueris. Itane vero? Tu, cum quaestor ad exercitum missus sis, custos non solum pecuniae sed etiam consulis, particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque fueris, habitus sis in liberum loco, sicut mos maiorum ferebat, repente relinquas, deseras, ad adversarios transeas? O scelus! o portentum in ultimas terras exportandum! Non enim potest ea natura quae tantum facinus commiserit hoc uno scelere esse contenta; necesse est semper aliquid eius modi moliatur, necesse est in simili audacia perfidiaque versetur.

41 Itaque idem iste, quem Cn. Dolabella postea, C. Malleolo occiso, pro quaestore habuit—haud scio an maior etiam haec necessitudo fuerit quam illa Carbonis, ac plus iudicium voluntatis valere quam sortis debeat—idem in Cn. Dolabellam qui in Cn. Carbonem fuit. Nam quae in ipsum valebant crimina contulit in illum, causamque illius omnem ad inimicos accusatoresque detulit; ipse in eum cui legatus, cui pro quaestore fuerat, inimicissimum atque improbissimum testimonium dixit. Ille miser cum esset Cn. Dolabella cum proditione istius nefaria, tum improbo et falso eiusdem testimonio—tum multo ex maxima parte istius furtorum ac flagitiorum invidia conflagra-

under your own roof, not only does not reveal itself, but overwhelms you before you have time to think
how to deal with it. Can such things be? You 40
were sent as quaestor to join the army; not only the money but the consul's person, was entrusted to you; you were admitted to a share in all his actions and secrets; you were treated like his son in the old Roman way: and in a moment you can forsake and desert him and join his enemies? Unnatural prodigy of crime, deserving to be banished to the furthest corners of the earth! For a being that has wrought a thing like this cannot rest content with this single wickedness: it must for ever be seeking to compass some such purpose, for ever be busy with some such piece of unscrupulous treachery.

And we find him accordingly, when appointed 41
acting quaestor by Gnaeus Dolabella after Gaius Malleolus was killed—and I am not sure that the personal tie here was not closer even than that with Carbo, or that the lot's decision should be accounted more binding than a decision freely taken—we find him behaving to Dolabella just as he behaved to Carbo. Charges that really applied to himself he transferred to Dolabella, and furnished a full account of the case against him to the personal enemies who were prosecuting him; and he showed himself his bitter enemy, and a thorough scoundrel, by himself giving evidence against the man whose adjutant and acting quaestor he had been. Poor Dolabella had enough to make him unhappy in his abominable betrayal by Verres, and in the villainous and lying evidence Verres had given against him: but much the greatest part of his sufferings arose from the dislike of himself excited by the thefts and outrages

42 vit. XVI. Quid hoc homine faciatis? aut ad quam spem tam perfidiosum, tam importunum animal reservetis? qui in Cn. Carbone sortem, in Cn. Dolabella voluntatem neglexerit ac violarit, eosque ambos non solum deseruerit sed etiam prodiderit atque oppugnarit. Nolite, quaeso, iudices, brevitate orationis meae potius quam rerum ipsarum magnitudine crimina ponderare; mihi enim properandum necessario est, ut omnia vobis quae mihi constituta sunt
43 possim exponere. Quam ob rem, quaestura istius demonstrata, primique magistratus et furto et scelere perspecto, reliqua attendite. In quibus illud tempus Sullanarum proscriptionum ac rapinarum praetermittam; neque ego istum sibi ex communi calamitate defensionem ullam sinam sumere; suis eum certis propriisque criminibus accusabo. Quam ob rem hoc omni tempore Sullano ex accusatione circumscripto legationem eius praeclaram cognoscite.
44 XVII. Posteaquam Cn. Dolabellae provincia Cilicia constituta est, o di immortales! quanta iste cupiditate, quibus allegationibus illam sibi legationem expugnavit! id quod Cn. Dolabellae principium maximae calamitatis fuit. Nam ut est profectus, quacumque iter fecit, eius modi fuit, non ut legatus populi Romani, sed ut quaedam calamitas pervadere

that Verres had committed. XVI. What shall be 42
done with a man like this? For what possible use should you keep so treacherous and savage a creature? He has shown no more respect, no more fidelity, to Dolabella who chose him than to Carbo to whom the lot assigned him; both Carbo and Dolabella he has not only failed but deliberately betrayed and assaulted. I would ask you, gentlemen, to judge the gravity of those charges not so much by the length of time I devote to them as by the seriousness of the facts themselves; for I must hasten on, if I am to be able to carry out my plan of putting the whole case fully before you. Having therefore 43
described the man's performances as quaestor, and brought out clearly his dishonesty and criminal conduct during his first tenure of office, I ask your attention for the rest of the story. That part of it which belongs to the time of the Sullan proscriptions, with its acts of pillage, I shall omit; I will not allow Verres to extract from our national misfortunes any arguments in his support; I will prosecute him only for offences that are definitely and exclusively his own. I will therefore rule out all charges against him that would belong to this period of Sulla's power; let us now examine his splendid record as assistant governor.

XVII. Upon the allotment of Cilicia to Gnaeus 44
Dolabella as his province, merciful Heaven! with what greed, what importunities Verres extorted from him that assistant governorship! And indeed this proved for Dolabella the first step to the worst of his disasters. Rome once left behind, the behaviour of Verres, at every stage of his journey, made him seem less like a Roman governor than a kind of human

videretur. In Achaia (praetermittam minora omnia, quorum simile forsitan alius quoque aliquid aliquando fecerit; nihil dicam, nisi singulare, nisi quod, si in alium reum diceretur, incredibile videretur) magistratum Sicyonium nummos poposcit. Ne sit hoc crimen in Verrem; fecerunt alii. Cum ille non daret, animadvertit. Improbum, sed non inauditum.
45 Genus animadversionis videte: quaeretis ex quo genere hominum istum iudicetis. Ignem ex lignis viridibus atque humidis in loco angusto fieri iussit; ibi hominem ingenuum, domi nobilem, populi Romani socium atque amicum, fumo excruciatum semivivum reliquit. Iam quae iste signa, quas tabulas pictas ex Achaia sustulerit, non dicam hoc loco; est alius mihi locus ad hanc eius cupiditatem demonstrandam separatus. Athenis audistis ex aede Minervae grande auri pondus ablatum; dictum hoc est in Cn. Dolabellae iudicio; dictum? etiam aestimatum. Huius consilii non modo participem C. Verrem, sed principem fuisse reperietis.

46 Delum venit. Ibi ex fano Apollinis religiosissimo noctu clam sustulit signa pulcherrima atque antiquissima, eaque in onerariam navem suam conicienda curavit. Postridie cum fanum spoliatum viderent ii qui Delum incolebant, graviter ferebant; est enim tanta apud eos eius fani religio atque antiquitas ut in

[a] Book IV.

pestilence In Achaia—I pass over all minor misdeeds, some of which may possibly have occasional parallels in what other men have done; I will mention only what is unique, only what would seem incredible in anyone else who was charged with it—he demanded a sum of money from the chief magistrate of Sicyon. But let us not accuse Verres of that; others have done the same. The magistrate refusing, Verres punished him. Wrong, to be sure, but not without precedent. But note the method of 45 punishment, and you will wonder to what species of human being you are to assign him. He ordered a fire of moist green wood to be made in a confined spot: and there this free-born man, a man of high rank in his own town, one of the allies and friends of Rome, was put through the agonies of suffocation, and left there more dead than alive. What statues and pictures he carried off from Achaia I will not state here; there is another part[a] of my speech reserved for dealing with this side of his greedy character. You have been told that at Athens a large amount of gold was carried away from the temple of Minerva. The fact was stated at Dolabella's trial: stated? the very weight was given. In this enterprise, you will find, Verres did not simply take part: he took command.

He reached Delos. There one night he secretly 46 carried off, from the much-revered sanctuary of Apollo, several ancient and beautiful statues, and had them put on board his own transport. Next day, when the inhabitants of Delos saw their sanctuary stripped of its treasures, they were much distressed; for, to show how ancient, and how much venerated by them, that sanctuary is, they believe

eo loco ipsum Apollinem natum esse arbitrentur. Verbum tamen facere non audebant, ne forte ea res ad Dolabellam ipsum pertineret. XVIII. Tum subito tempestates coortae sunt maximae, iudices, ut non modo proficisci cum cuperet Dolabella non posset, sed vix in oppido consisteret; ita magni fluctus eiciebantur. Hic navis illa praedonis istius, onusta signis religiosis, expulsa atque eiecta fluctu frangitur. In litore signa illa Apollinis reperiuntur; iussu Dolabellae reponuntur; tempestas sedatur; Dolabella Delo proficiscitur.

47 Non dubito quin, tametsi nullus in te sensus humanitatis, nulla ratio umquam fuit religionis, nunc tamen in metu periculoque tuo tuorum tibi scelerum veniat in mentem. Potestne tibi ulla spes salutis commoda ostendi, cum recordaris in deos immortales quam impius, quam sceleratus, quam nefarius fueris? Apollinemne tu Delium spoliare ausus es? Illine tu templo tam antiquo, tam sancto, tam religioso manus impias ac sacrilegas adferre conatus es? Si in pueritia non his artibus ac disciplinis institutus eras ut ea quae litteris mandata sunt disceres atque cognosceres, ne postea quidem, cum in ea ipsa loca venisti, potuisti accipere id quod est proditum memoriae ac
48 litteris, Latonam ex longo errore et fuga, gravidam et iam ad pariendum temporibus exactis, confugisse Delum atque ibi Apollinem Dianamque peperisse? qua ex opinione hominum illa insula eorum deorum

it to be the birthplace of Apollo himself. However, they dared not say a word, fearing that Dolabella himself might be concerned in the outrage. XVIII. Then so tremendous a storm suddenly came on, gentlemen, that Dolabella was prevented from starting when he intended, and almost from staying in the town, it was being lashed by such huge waves. In that storm this pirate's ship, with its load of sacred statues, was driven ashore by the waves and went to pieces. The statues of Apollo were found lying on the beach: by Dolabella's order, they were put back where they came from; the storm abated, and Dolabella left Delos.

I have no doubt, Verres, that destitute as you 47
have always been of human feelings and religious principle, yet now, in your hour of anxiety and danger, the thought of your crimes recurs to you. Is it possible that any agreeable hope of escaping can present itself to you, when you remember how impious and criminal and wicked your behaviour has been towards the gods in heaven? You dared to rob Apollo—Apollo of Delos? Upon that temple, so ancient, so holy, so profoundly venerated, you sought to lay your impious and sacrilegious hands? Even though as a boy you did not receive the kind of education and training that would enable you to learn or understand the records of literature, could you not even take in later, when you came to the actual spot, the story of which both tradition and literature inform us: how after long wanderings the 48
fugitive Latona, being pregnant, and the time of her delivery now fully come, found refuge in Delos, and there brought forth Apollo and Diana? Because men believe this story, they hold the island sacred

sacra putatur; tantaque eius auctoritas religionis et est et semper fuit ut ne Persae quidem, cum bellum toti Graeciae dis hominibusque indixissent et mille numero navium classem ad Delum appulissent, quicquam conarentur aut violare aut attingere. Hoc tu fanum depopulari, homo improbissime atque amentissime, audebas? Fuit ulla cupiditas tanta quae tantam exstingueret religionem? Et si tum haec non cogitabas, ne nunc quidem recordaris nullum esse tantum malum quod non tibi pro sceleribus tuis iam diu debeatur?

49 XIX. In Asiam vero postquam venit, quid ego adventus istius prandia, cenas, equos muneraque commemorem? Nihil cum Verre de cotidianis criminibus acturus sum. Chio per vim signa pulcherrima dico abstulisse, item Erythris et Halicarnasso. Tenedo (praetereo pecuniam quam eripuit) Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbem illam dicitur condidisse, cuius ex nomine Tenedus nominatur, hunc ipsum, inquam, Tenem, pulcherrime factum, quem quondam in comitio vidistis, abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis.

50 Illa vero expugnatio fani antiquissimi et nobilissimi Iunonis Samiae quam luctuosa Samiis fuit, quam acerba toti Asiae, quam clara apud omnes, quam nemini vestrum inaudita! De qua expugnatione cum legati ad C. Neronem in Asiam Samo venissent,

[a] These were all extracted from the inhabitants.

[b] Part of the Forum, where the old assembly of the *curiae* met. Verres had lent the aediles this statue to form part of the decorations for some festival show.

to those deities; and the reverence felt for it is, and has always been, so strong, that not even the Persians—though they had declared war upon all Greece, gods and men alike, and their fleet, to the number of a thousand ships, had put in at Delos—yet not even they sought to profane, or to lay a finger upon, anything therein. Was this the sanctuary that you in your utter folly and wickedness dared to devastate? Was ever such devouring greed known before, greed capable of such destruction of what is high and holy? And if at the time you did not think of this, can you not even now reflect that there is no retribution too terrible to be due, and overdue, for the evil that you have done?

XIX. Once he had reached Asia, what need to go 49
through the list of his dinner and supper parties, the horses and other presents made to him?[a] I am not going to attack a man like Verres for every-day offences. But I do assert that he carried off statues of great beauty from Chios, and also from Erythrae and Halicarnassus. From Tenedos—I make no reference to the money he seized—Tenes himself, the god for whom the people of Tenedos feel special reverence, who is said to have founded the city, and after whom Tenedos is named—this very Tenes himself, I say, a beautiful work of art, which you have, on one occasion, seen in the Comitium,[b]—this he carried off, amid the loud lamentations of the citizens.

And then mark how he stormed and sacked the 50
ancient and glorious temple of Juno of Samos: how it plunged the Samians in grief, and distressed all Asia! how the story spread through the world, so that not one of you has not heard it! A deputation from Samos went to Asia to complain to Gaius Nero

responsum tulerunt eius modi querimonias, quae ad legatum populi Romani pertinerent, non ad praetorem sed Romam deferri oportere. Quas iste tabulas illinc, quae signa sustulit! quae cognovi egomet apud istum in aedibus nuper, cum obsignandi
51 gratia venissem. Quae signa nunc, Verres, ubi sunt? illa quaero quae apud te nuper ad omnes columnas, omnibus etiam intercolumniis, in silva denique disposita sub divo vidimus. Cur ea, quam diu alium praetorem cum iis iudicibus quos in horum locum subsortitus es de te in consilium iturum putasti, tam diu domi fuerunt: posteaquam nostris testibus nos quam horis tuis uti malle vidisti, nullum signum domi reliquisti, praeter duo quae in mediis aedibus sunt—quae ipsa Samo sublata sunt? Non putasti me tuis familiarissimis in hanc rem testimonia denuntiaturum, qui tuae domi saepe fuissent, ex quibus quaererem signa scirentne fuisse quae non essent?
52 XX. Quid tum hos de te iudicaturos arbitratus es, cum viderent te iam non contra accusatorem tuum sed contra quaestorem sectoremque pugnare? Qua de re Charidemum Chium testimonium priore actione

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[a] Nero had no power to punish the *legatus* of the governor of another province. Cicero is not blaming him: but pointing out the seriousness of Verres' offence, and hinting, perhaps, that he is doing something to carry out Nero's suggestion to the Samians.

[b] Evidently to seal up, and secure against removal, objects that might be required as evidence at the trial.

[c] Ironically for "had expected to ballot for."

[d] The reference is to the plot described in *Actio Prima*, §§ 26-31, and to Cicero's plan to frustrate it, § 55. The "time that suited you" is the time that Cicero did *not* waste, at the first hearing, on a long continuous speech.

about this outrage, and they were told that grievances of this kind, having reference to imperial assistant-governors, must be submitted not to the local governor, but at Rome.[a] The pictures, the statues he robbed that island of! I recognized the statues myself the other day in his house, on going there
to do my sealing.[b] Where are those statues now, 51
Verres? I mean those we saw in your house the other day, standing by all the pillars, and in all the spaces between the pillars too, yes, and even set about your shrubbery in the open air. Why did they stay there in your house as long as you expected to be tried by a fresh president, and by the judges you had balloted for[c] to take these gentlemen's places, and then, later on, when you found that we on this side meant to employ the witnesses that suited us, and not the time that suited you,[d] did you leave not one statue in your house, except the two in the middle of it—and they too were carried off from Samos? Did it never occur to you that on this point I was likely to subpoena your special friends who had continually been at your house, and make them say whether they knew of the previous existence of statues not now there?
XX. What conclusion did you expect these gentle- 52
men to draw about you, when they found you now trying to frustrate, not the prosecutor, but the quaestor and the dealer[a]? The Court has heard, at the first hearing, the evidence given on this matter by Charidemus of Chios: how, being in command

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[a] The city quaestors confiscated and sold the property of condemned persons: the *sector* speculated in the purchase of it. Verres, expecting bankruptcy, was trying, illegally, to save what he could from the wreck.

dicere audistis, sese, cum esset trierarchus, et Verrem ex Asia decedentem prosequeretur iussu Dolabellae, fuisse una cum isto Sami; seseque tum scire spoliatum esse fanum Iunonis et oppidum Samum: posteaque se causam apud Chios, cives suos, Samiis accusantibus, publice dixisse, eoque se esse absolutum quod planum fecisset ea quae legati Samiorum dicerent ad Verrem, non ad se, pertinere.

53 Aspendum vetus oppidum et nobile in Pamphylia scitis esse, plenissimum signorum optimorum. Non dicam illinc hoc signum ablatum esse et illud: hoc dico, nullum te Aspendi signum, Verres, reliquisse, omnia ex fanis, ex locis publicis, palam, spectantibus omnibus, plaustris evecta exportataque esse. Atque etiam illum Aspendium citharistam, de quo saepe audistis id quod est Graecis hominibus in proverbio, quem omnia intus canere dicebant, sustulit et in intimis suis aedibus posuit, ut etiam illum ipsum
54 suo artificio superasse videatur. Pergae fanum antiquissimum et sanctissimum Dianae scimus esse; id quoque a te nudatum ac spoliatum esse, ex ipsa Diana quod habebat auri detractum atque ablatum esse dico.

Quae, malum, est ista tanta audacia atque amentia? Quas enim sociorum atque amicorum urbes adisti legationis iure et nomine, si in eas vi cum exercitu

[a] The proverb was applied to those who do things for their own pleasure and not that of others. The lifelike figure appeared to be enjoying his own music, inaudible to everyone else.

[b] Verres knew still better (as Long suggests) how to "play for himself alone."

of a warship, by Dolabella's orders he acted as escort when Verres was leaving Asia, was with Verres at Samos, and knew at the time about the pillaging of the sanctuary of Juno and the city of Samos; and how later he was officially prosecuted, before his own countrymen in Chios, by Samian representatives, and was acquitted on the ground that he had clearly proved the actions complained of by the Samian representatives to be the work of Verres and not his own.

You are aware, gentlemen, that Aspendus is an old 53
and famous town in Pamphylia, full of fine statuary. I shall not allege that from this town this or that particular statue was removed. My charge is that Verres did not leave one single statue behind; that from temples and public places alike, with the whole of Aspendus looking on, they were all openly loaded on wagons and carted away. Yes, even the famous Harper of Aspendus, about whom you have often heard the saying that is proverbial among the Greeks, of whom it was said that he made "all his music inside"[a]—him too Verres carried off and put right inside his own house, so as to get the reputation of having beaten the Harper himself at his own game.[b] At Perga there is, as we know, a very 54
ancient and much revered sanctuary of Diana: I assert that this too has been stripped and plundered by him, and that all the gold from the figure of Diana herself has been pulled off and taken away.

You villain, you knave, and you fool, what is the meaning of this? You visited these allied and friendly cities with the rights and the rank of assistant governor; but had you forcibly invaded them as a general at the head of an army, even

imperioque invasisses, tamen, opinor, quae signa atque ornamenta ex iis urbibus sustulisses, haec non in tuam domum neque in suburbana amicorum sed
55 Romam in publicum deportasses. XXI. Quid ego de M. Marcello loquar, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam cepit? quid de L. Scipione, qui bellum in Asia gessit Antiochumque regem potentissimum vicit? quid de Flaminino, qui regem Philippum et Macedoniam subegit? quid de L. Paulo, qui regem Persen vi ac virtute superavit? quid de L. Mummio, qui urbem pulcherrimam atque ornatissimam Corinthum, plenissimam rerum omnium, sustulit, urbesque Achaiae Boeotiaeque multas sub imperium populi Romani dictionemque subiunxit? Quorum domus, cum honore et virtute florerent, signis et tabulis pictis erant vacuae; at vero urbem totam templaque deorum omnesque Italiae partes illorum donis ac monumentis
56 exornatas videmus. Vereor ne haec forte cuiquam nimis antiqua et iam obsoleta videantur; ita enim tum aequabiliter omnes erant eius modi ut haec laus eximiae virtutis et innocentiae non solum hominum verum etiam temporum illorum esse videatur. P. Servilius, vir clarissimus maximis rebus gestis, adest de te sententiam laturus: Olympum vi, copiis, consilio, virtute cepit, urbem antiquam et omnibus rebus auctam et ornatam. Recens exemplum fortissimi viri profero; nam postea Servilius imperator populi Romani Olympum urbem hostium cepit quam tu in iisdem locis legatus quaestorius oppida pacata

[a] The innuendo is that of § 51.
[b] And therefore entitled to outward splendours.
[c] Lit. "who by force, with his troops, by his skill, by his valour, took . . ."
[d] A pirate city on the coast of Lycia. [e] In the year 77.

so, any statuary or works of art that you might take away from them you were surely bound to transport, not to your own town house or[a] the suburban estates of your friends, but to Rome for the benefit of the nation. XXI. Need I quote the example of 55
Marcus Marcellus, who captured Syracuse, that treasury of art? Of Lucius Scipio, who conducted the war in Asia and overthrew that mighty monarch Antiochus? Of Flamininus, who conquered King Philip and Macedonia? Of Lucius Paulus, whose energy and bravery overcame King Perseus? Of Lucius Mummius, who took the beautiful city of Corinth, full of art treasures of every kind, and brought so many cities of Achaia and Boeotia under the empire and sovranty of Rome? These were men of high rank and eminent character,[b] but their houses were empty of statues and pictures; while we still see the whole city, and the temples of the gods, and every part of Italy, adorned with the gifts and memorials that they brought us. But there are 56
some, I fear, to whom these instances may seem old-fashioned and already out of date; for so universal, in those days, were these fine qualities of virtue and integrity, that my praise of them must be felt to extend beyond the great men themselves to the age in which they lived. Well, here among your judges sits Publius Servilius, the hero of very great deeds, through whose skill and valour our troops forcibly captured[c] the ancient city of Olympus,[d] a place full of riches and works of art. This I quote as a modern example of how a brave man should behave; for this enemy city of Olympus has been captured by Servilius as a general in the Roman army since[e] the time when you, Verres, as quaestor-governor in that

sociorum atque amicorum diripienda ac vexanda
57 curasti. Tu quae ex fanis religiosissimis per scelus et latrocinium abstulisti, ea nos videre nisi in tuis amicorumque tuorum tectis non possumus: P. Servilius, quae signa atque ornamenta ex urbe hostium, vi et virtute capta, belli lege atque imperatorio iure sustulit, ea populo Romano apportavit, per triumphum vexit, in tabulas publicas ad aerarium perscribenda curavit. Cognoscite ex litteris publicis hominis amplissimi diligentiam. Recita. RATIONES RELATAE P. SERVILII. Non solum numerum signorum sed etiam unius cuiusque magnitudinem, figuram, statum litteris definiri vides. Certe maior est virtutis victoriaeque iucunditas quam ista voluptas quae percipitur ex libidine et cupiditate. Multo diligentius habere dico Servilium praedam populi Romani quam te tua furta notata atque perscripta.

58 XXII. Dices tua quoque signa et tabulas pictas ornamento urbi foroque populi Romani fuisse. Memini; vidi simul cum populo Romano forum comitiumque adornatum, ad speciem magnifico ornatu, ad sensum cogitationemque acerbo et lugubri; vidi collucere omnia furtis tuis, praeda provinciarum, spoliis sociorum atque amicorum. Quo quidem tempore, iudices, iste spem maximam reliquorum quoque peccatorum nactus est; vidit enim eos qui

same part of the world, had the towns of allies and friends at peace with us plundered and devastated.
What you criminally and piratically stole from ven- 57
erated sanctuaries we can see only in the private houses of you and your friends; the statues and objects of art, which, in accordance with the rights of war and his powers as general, Servilius removed from the enemy city that his strength and valour had captured, he brought home to his countrymen, displayed them in his triumphal procession, and had them entered in full in the official catalogue of the public Treasury. Let the national records inform us of the scrupulous care shown by this eminent man. Read them, please. *Statement of accounts submitted by Publius Servilius.* You see carefully stated in these records, not simply the number of the statues, but the size, shape, and attitude of each one of them. How surely the satisfaction of a gallant conqueror surpasses the pleasure derived from self-indulgence and from greed! I declare that Servilius had this captured treasure, the property of the nation, far more carefully identified and catalogued than you, Verres, ever had what you stole for yourself.

XXII. You will plead that your statues and pictures, 58
like his, have adorned the city and forum of the people of Rome. Yes: I remember standing among the people of Rome, and looking at the decorated Forum and Comitium; a decoration splendid to the eye, but painful and melancholy to the heart and mind: I looked at the brilliant show that was made by your thefts, by the robbing of our provinces, by the spoliation of our friends and allies. Note that it was then, gentlemen, that Verres received his chief encouragement to continue his misdeeds: he saw

iudiciorum dominos se dici volebant harum cupidi-
59 tatum esse servos. Socii vero nationesque exterae spem omnium tum primum abiecere rerum ac fortunarum suarum, propterea quod casu legati ex Asia atque Achaia plurimi Romae tunc fuerunt, qui deorum simulacra ex suis fanis sublata in foro venerabantur, itemque cetera signa et ornamenta cum cognoscerent, alia alio in loco lacrimantes intuebantur. Quorum omnium hunc sermonem tum esse audiebamus, nihil esse quod quisquam dubitaret de exitio sociorum atque amicorum, cum quidem viderent in foro populi Romani, quo in loco antea qui sociis iniurias fecerant accusari et condemnari solebant, ibi esse palam posita ea quae ab sociis per scelus ablata ereptaque essent.

60 Hic ego non arbitror illum negaturum signa se plurima, tabulas pictas innumerabiles habere; sed, ut opinor, solet haec quae rapuit et furatus est non numquam dicere se emisse, quoniam quidem in Achaiam, Asiam, Pamphyliam sumptu publico et legationis nomine mercator signorum tabularumque pictarum missus est. XXIII. Habeo et istius et patris eius[1] tabulas omnes, quas diligentissime legi atque digessi, patris quoad vixit, tuas quoad ais te confecisse

[1] *The MSS. have* accepi *after* eius: *Peterson retains it and omits* Habeo.

that the men who aimed at being called the masters of the courts were the servants of desire for such
things as these. And it was then, on the other 59
hand, and only then, that the allied and foreign peoples abandoned their last hope of prosperity and happiness; for a large number of persons from Asia and Achaia, who happened at the time to be in Rome serving on deputations, beheld in our Forum the revered images of their gods that had been carried away from their own sanctuaries, and recognizing as well the other statues and works of art, some here and some there, would stand gazing at them with weeping eyes. What we then heard these people saying was always this, that the ruin of our allies and friends was certain beyond all question; for there in the Forum of Rome, in the place where once those who had wronged our allies used to be prosecuted and found guilty, now stood, openly exposed to view, the objects reft from those allies by criminals and robbers.

Now I do not suppose that Verres will at this 60
point deny that he has numerous statues, and more pictures than he can count, in his possession. But I understand it to be his habit now and then to assert that these objects, which he has stolen by force or fraud, have really been bought. It would appear that he was sent out to Achaia and Asia and Pamphylia, at the national expense and with the title of assistant governor, in order to engage in the statue and picture trade. XXIII. Both his own accounts and his father's have come into my hands; I have read and studied them carefully; the father's up to the day of his death, his own for the period during which he claims to have kept them. For

Nam in isto, iudices, hoc novum reperietis. Audimus aliquem tabulas numquam confecisse : quae est opinio hominum de Antonio, falsa, nam fecit diligentissime : verum sit hoc genus aliquod, minime probandum. Audimus alium non ab initio fecisse, sed ex tempore aliquo confecisse : est aliqua etiam eiusce rei ratio. Hoc vero novum et ridiculum est quod hic nobis respondit cum ab eo tabulas postularemus, usque ad M. Terentium et C. Cassium consules confecisse,
61 postea destitisse. Alio loco hoc cuius modi sit considerabimus ; nunc nihil ad me attinet, horum enim temporum in quibus nunc versor habeo tabulas et tuas et patris. Plurima signa pulcherrima, plurimas tabulas optimas deportasse te negare non potes ; atque utinam neges ! Unum ostende in tabulis aut tuis aut patris tui emptum esse : vicisti. Ne haec quidem duo signa pulcherrima quae nunc ad impluvium tuum stant, quae multos annos ad valvas Iunonis Samiae steterunt, habes quo modo emeris ; haec, inquam, duo, quae in aedibus tuis sola iam sunt, quae sectorem exspectant, relicta ac destituta a ceteris signis.

62 XXIV. At, credo, in hisce solis rebus indomitas cupiditates atque effrenatas habebat : ceterae libidines eius ratione aliqua aut modo continebantur.

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[a] It is doubtful who is meant.
[b] 73 B.C. [c] See § 51.

you will find this novelty in Verres' case, gentlemen. We have heard of a man's never keeping any accounts ; that is what is widely believed about Antonius,[a] though incorrectly, for he kept very careful accounts ; still we may admit that this sort of thing occurs, and it is far from satisfactory. We have also heard of a man's not keeping accounts to begin with, but doing so from a certain date onwards ; and that too one can to some extent understand. But what we have here is a ridiculous novelty : I demanded his accounts, and he told me that he had kept them duly up to the consulship of Marcus Terentius and Gaius Cassius,[b] but stopped keeping them after that. We will consider the significance 61
of this elsewhere ; for the moment I am not concerned with it, as I have both your own accounts, Verres, and your father's, for the period with which I am now dealing. You cannot deny that you brought away a large number of beautiful statues and a large number of fine paintings. I only wish you would deny it ! Show me the record, either in your own accounts or your father's, of your buying a single one of these things, and I surrender. You cannot show that you have bought even those two beautiful statues which are standing now beside the rainpool in your hall, and stood for many long years before the doors of Juno in Samos—those two, I mean, that are now left lonely in your house, waiting for the dealer,[c] deserted and abandoned by all the others.

XXIV. But we are no doubt to understand that 62
it is in these directions only that the man's greedy desires were free from all restraint or control, and that there was some limit or check imposed upon

Quam multis istum ingenuis, quam multis matribus familias in illa taetra atque impura legatione vim attulisse existimatis? Ecquo in oppido pedem posuit ubi non plura stuprorum flagitiorumque suorum quam adventus sui vestigia reliquerit? Sed ego omnia quae negari poterunt praetermittam; etiam haec quae certissima sunt et clarissima relinquam; unum aliquod de nefariis istius factis eligam, quo facilius ad Siciliam possim aliquando, quae mihi hoc oneris negotiique imposuit, pervenire.

63 Oppidum est in Hellesponto Lampsacum, iudices, in primis Asiae provinciae clarum et nobile; homines autem ipsi Lampsaceni tum summe in omnes cives Romanos officiosi, tum praeterea maxime sedati et quieti, prope praeter ceteros ad summum Graecorum otium potius quam ad ullam vim aut tumultum accommodati. Accidit, cum iste a Cn. Dolabella efflagitasset ut se ad regem Nicomedem regemque Sadalam mitteret, cumque iter hoc sibi magis ad quaestum suum quam ad rei publicae tempus accommodatum depoposcisset, ut illo itinere veniret Lampsacum, cum magna calamitate et prope pernicie civitatis. Deducitur iste ad Ianitorem quendam hospitem, comitesque eius item apud ceteros hospites collocantur. Ut mos erat istius atque ut eum suae libidines flagitiose facere admonebant, statim negotium dat illis suis comitibus, nequissimis turpissimisque hominibus, uti videant et investigent ecqua virgo

his other passions. Are you aware of the number of free-born persons, of respectable married women, to whom he offered violence during his foul and disgusting career as assistant governor? Is there one town in which he set foot where the traces left by his arriving feet are not outnumbered by those of his adulteries and criminal assaults? I will, however, pass over all the outrages whose commission might be denied; I will even omit those that are wholly undeniable and notorious, selecting only a single one of his wicked deeds, that I may the sooner get at last to Sicily, the country that has laid this burdensome duty upon my shoulders.

There is on the shores of the Hellespont, gentle- 63
men, a town called Lampsacum, one of the most famous and illustrious in the province of Asia. The inhabitants are particularly ready to oblige all Roman citizens, and besides that are extremely quiet and well-behaved, almost more inclined than other Greeks are to taking things very easily, and not to any form of violence or turbulence. Verres, having pestered Dolabella to send him on a mission to King Nicomedes and King Sadala, and insisted on a journey more likely to add to his own gains than to forward the interests of Rome, happened in the course of his journey to arrive at Lampsacum, with terrible and almost ruinous consequences to that community. He was received as a guest in the house of a man called Ianitor, and his staff found quarters and hospitality among the rest of the inhabitants. In accordance with his custom and the promptings of his wicked passions, he forthwith instructed the worthless and degraded men who composed his staff to make investigations, and discover whether there was any

sit aut mulier digna quam ob rem ipse Lampsaci
64 diutius commoraretur. XXV. Erat comes eius Rubrius quidam, homo factus ad istius libidines, qui miro artificio, quocumque venerat, haec investigare omnia solebat. Is ad eum rem istam defert, Philodamum esse quendam, genere, honore, copiis, existimatione facile principem Lampsacenorum; eius esse filiam, quae cum patre habitaret, propterea quod virum non haberet, mulierem eximia pulchritudine; sed eam summa integritate pudicitiaque existimari. Homo, ut haec audivit, sic exarsit ad id quod non modo ipse numquam viderat sed ne audierat quidem ab eo qui ipse vidisset, ut statim ad Philodamum migrare se diceret velle. Hospes Ianitor, qui nihil suspicaretur, veritus ne quid in ipso se offenderetur, hominem summa vi retinere coepit. Iste, qui hospitis relinquendi causam reperire non posset, alia sibi ratione viam munire ad stuprum coepit; Rubrium, delicias suas, in omnibus eius modi rebus adiutorem suum et conscium, parum laute deversari dicit, ad
65 Philodamum deduci iubet. Quod ubi est Philodamo nuntiatum, tametsi erat ignarus quantum sibi ac liberis suis iam tum mali constitueretur, tamen ad istum venit; ostendit munus illud suum non esse: se, cum suae partes essent hospitum recipiendorum, tum ipsos tamen praetores et consules, non legato-

girl or woman there on whose account it would be worth his while to prolong his stay at Lampsacum.
XXV. There was a man on his staff called Rubrius, 64
just the sort of creature for the service of his lusts, who used to show remarkable ingenuity, wherever they went, in investigating matters of this sort. Rubrius reported to him that there was a man called Philodamus, whose birth, official position, wealth, and high reputation made him easily the first man in Lampsacum; and that he had a daughter, who, being unmarried, was living at home; a woman of exceptional beauty, but accounted entirely chaste and modest. On hearing this, the scoundrel was so inflamed by the thought of what he had not only never himself seen but not even heard of from anyone who had, that he immediately announced his wish to move to the house of Philodamus. His host Ianitor, having no suspicion of the truth, and being afraid that he was himself failing in some way to give satisfaction, began most urgently to dissuade him from going. Unable to hit upon an excuse for deserting his host, Verres proceeded with a new scheme for achieving his licentious purpose: he complained of the shabby accommodation allotted to his favourite Rubrius, his helper and confidant in all matters of this kind, and ordered him to be transferred to the house of Philodamus. On being told 65
of this, Philodamus, though unaware how great an injury was already being planned against himself and his family, went nevertheless to see Verres, and urged that it was not fair to expect this of him; that while he had his own share of hospitable duties to perform, it was his custom to invite praetors and consuls to be his guests, and not their assistants'

rum adseculas, recipere solere. Iste, qui una cupiditate raperetur, totum illius postulatum causamque neglexit; per vim ad eum, qui recipere non debebat, Rubrium deduci imperavit. XXVI. Hic Philodamus, posteaquam ius suum obtinere non potuit, ut humanitatem consuetudinemque suam retineret laborabat. Homo, qui semper hospitalissimus amicissimusque nostrorum hominum existimatus esset, noluit videri ipsum illum Rubrium invitus domum suam recepisse: magnifice et ornate, ut erat in primis inter suos copiosus, convivium comparat; rogat Rubrium ut quos ei commodum sit invitet; locum sibi soli, si videatur, relinquat; etiam filium suum, lectissimum adulescentem, foras ad propinquum suum quendam
66 mittit ad cenam. Rubrius istius comites invitat: eos omnes Verres certiores facit quid opus esset. Mature veniunt; discumbitur. Fit sermo inter eos, et invitatio ut Graeco more biberetur. Hortatur hospes; poscunt maioribus poculis; celebratur omnium sermone laetitiaque convivium. Posteaquam satis calere res Rubrio visa est, "Quaeso" inquit, "Philodame, cur ad nos filiam tuam non intro vocari iubes?" Homo, qui et summa gravitate et iam id aetatis et parens esset, obstupuit hominis improbi dicto. Instare Rubrius; tum ille, ut aliquid responderet, negavit moris esse Graecorum ut in convivio virorum accumberent mulieres. Hic tum alius ex alia parte "enim vero ferendum hoc quidem non est; vocetur mulier!" et simul servis suis

[a] *i.e.*, (probably) προπίνειν, to "take wine with" their host: a touch of special courtesy.

attendants. Verres, carried away by his one overmastering desire, paid no attention to this request or to its justice, and ordered Rubrius to be forcibly installed in the house of a man to whose hospitality he had no claim. XXVI. Unable to maintain his rights, Philodamus now did his best to maintain his accustomed courtesy. He had always been considered most hospitable and cordial towards our people, and he did not wish to give the impression that he was receiving even a man like Rubrius into his house unwillingly. He arranged a dinner-party with the lavish splendour appropriate to one of the most well-to-do men in the place; asked Rubrius to invite to it anyone he wanted, and to be kind enough to reserve a place for himself only; even his son, an extremely nice boy, he sent out to supper with a
relative. Rubrius invited Verres' staff, and Verres 66
gave them instructions what to do. The guests assembled in good time, and took their places. Conversation began; they were invited to drink in the Greek fashion[a]; their host urged them to drink; they asked for bumpers, and the party became a general buzz of talk and merriment. As soon as Rubrius thought the ice was sufficiently broken, he said, "Tell me, Philodamus, why not send for your daughter to come in and see us?" The respectable and already elderly father received the rascal's suggestion with astonished silence. As Rubrius persisted, he replied, in order to say something, that it was not the Greek custom for women to be present at a men's dinner-party. At this someone in another part of the room called out, "But really, this is intolerable: let the woman be sent for!" At the same moment, Rubrius told his

Rubrius ut ianuam clauderent et ipsi ad fores adsiste-
67 rent imperat. Quod ubi ille intellexit, id agi atque id parari ut filiae suae vis afferretur, servos suos ad se vocat; his imperat ut se ipsum neglegant, filiam defendant; excurrat aliquis qui hoc tantum domestici mali filio suo nuntiet. Clamor interea fit tota domo; inter servos Rubrii atque hospitis iactatur domi suae vir primarius et homo honestissimus; pro se quisque manus affert; aqua denique ferventi a Rubrio ipso Philodamus perfunditur. Haec ubi filio nuntiata sunt, statim exanimatus ad aedes contendit, ut et vitae patris et pudicitiae sororis succurreret. Omnes eodem animo Lampsaceni, simul ut hoc audiverunt, quod eos cum Philodami dignitas tum iniuriae magnitudo movebat, ad aedes noctu convenerunt. Hic lictor istius Cornelius, qui cum eius servis erat a Rubrio quasi in praesidio ad auferendam mulierem collocatus, occiditur; servi nonnulli vulnerantur, ipse Rubrius in turba sauciatur. Iste, qui sua cupiditate tantos tumultus concitatos videret, cupere
68 aliqua evolare, si posset. XXVII. Postridie homines mane in contionem veniunt; quaerunt quid optimum factu sit; pro se quisque, ut in quoque erat auctoritatis plurimum, ad populum loquebatur; inventus est nemo cuius non haec et sententia esset et oratio, non esse metuendum, si istius nefarium scelus Lampsaceni ulti vi manuque essent, ne senatus populusque Romanus in eam civitatem animadverten-

slaves to shut the front door and stand on guard at the entrance. Philodamus, seeing that their pur- 67
pose and intention was the violation of his daughter, called to his slaves, and told them not to trouble about himself, but to save his daughter; one of them had better rush off to his son with the news of this trouble at home. Before long the whole house was in an uproar, and its most respectable and worthy owner was being knocked about under his own roof in the struggle between his own slaves and those of Rubrius, everyone trying to lay hands upon him; he was even drenched with a jug of boiling water by Rubrius himself. His son, on receiving the news, was terrified, and at once dashed off home to save his father's life and his sister's honour: and with one accord the people of Lampsacum, when they heard about it, shocked by this gross outrage on a gentleman they respected, gathered in a crowd before his house that night. In the sequel, Cornelius, a lictor of Verres, who with some of Verres' slaves had been posted by Rubrius at the strategic point for abducting the woman, lost his life; several slaves were wounded, and Rubrius himself was hurt in the struggle. Verres, seeing the fearful uproar to which his licentious passions had led, began to feel anxious to escape somehow if he could. XXVII. The follow- 68
ing morning there was a mass meeting of the inhabitants to consider what it was best to do. Those whose opinions carried most weight made speeches to the gathering, each putting his own view; and not a man among them but thought, and said, that they ought not to be afraid that if the people of Lampsacum avenged that wicked outrage by main force, the Senate and People of Rome would regard

dum putaret; quodsi hoc iure legati populi Romani in socios nationesque exteras uterentur, ut pudicitiam liberorum servare ab eorum libidine tutam non liceret, quidvis esse perpeti satius quam in tanta vi
69 atque acerbitate versari. Haec cum omnes sentirent, et cum in eam rationem pro suo quisque sensu ac dolore loqueretur, omnes ad eam domum in qua iste deversabatur profecti sunt; caedere ianuam saxis, instare ferro, ligna et sarmenta circumdare ignemque subicere coeperunt. Tum cives Romani, qui Lampsaci negotiabantur, concurrunt; orant Lampsacenos ut gravius apud eos nomen legationis quam iniuria legati putaretur; sese intellegere hominem illum esse impurum ac nefarium; sed quoniam nec perfecisset quod conatus esset neque futurus esset Lampsaci postea, levius eorum peccatum fore si homini scelerato pepercissent quam si legato non pepercissent.

70 Sic iste, multo sceleratior et nequior quam ille Hadrianus, aliquanto etiam felicior fuit. Ille, quod eius avaritiam cives Romani ferre non potuerant, Uticae domi suae vivus exustus est; idque ita illi merito accidisse existimatum est ut laetarentur omnes neque ulla animadversio constitueretur: hic sociorum ambustus incendio tamen ex illa flamma periculoque evolavit, neque adhuc causam ullam

[a] Governor of the province of Africa a few years earlier.

[b] It is implied that Roman citizens would be less likely than *socii* to resort to lynch-law.

the town as deserving punishment for doing so; for if the rights of a Roman assistant governor over members of allied and foreign nations were going to preclude them from successfully protecting their children against his lust, any fate would be more endurable than living in such circumstances of violence and wretchedness. This view commanded 69
universal support, man after man expressing, to the same effect, his feelings of indignation. There was a general move to the house in which Verres was staying. They set to work battering the front door with stones and iron implements, and made a pile of logs and brushwood round it which they set on fire. At this point a number of Roman citizens carrying on business in Lampsacum collected hastily on the spot, and began to urge the people of the town to let their respect for Verres' official position outweigh their resentment of his outrageous conduct, admitting that the man was a dirty villain, but urging that, since he had failed in his attempt and would never be at Lampsacum again, they would make a smaller mistake in sparing the life of a criminal than in taking the life of a governor.

The result was that Verres, though a much worse 70
criminal than the notorious Hadrianus,[a] had considerably better luck. Hadrianus was burnt alive in his house at Utica because his avarice had become intolerable to Roman citizens,[b] and was held so thoroughly to have deserved his fate that everyone was pleased that no steps were taken to punish the doers. But Verres, though the fire was lit by allied[b] hands, and scorched him badly, escaped that dangerous conflagration. Why indeed he allowed himself, or what happened to allow him, to run into so

excogitare potuit quam ob rem commiserit, aut quid
evenerit, ut in tantum periculum veniret. Non enim
potest dicere "cum seditionem sedare vellem, cum
frumentum imperarem, cum stipendium cogerem,
cum aliquid denique rei publicae causa gererem, quod
acrius imperavi, quod animadverti, quod minatus
sum." Quae si diceret, tamen ignosci non oporteret,
si nimis atrociter imperando sociis in tantum adductus
71 periculum videretur. XXVIII. Nunc cum ipse cau-
sam illius tumultus neque veram dicere neque falsam
confingere audeat, homo autem ordinis sui frugalis-
simus, qui tum accensus C. Neroni fuit, P. Tettius,
haec eadem se Lampsaci cognosse dixerit, vir omni-
bus rebus ornatissimus C. Varro, qui tum in Asia
militum tribunus fuit, haec eadem ipsa se ex Philo-
damo audisse dicat, potestis dubitare quin istum
fortuna non tam ex illo periculo eripere voluerit
quam ad vestrum iudicium reservare? Nisi vero
illud dicet quod et in testimonio Tettii priore actione
interpellavit Hortensius (quo tempore quidem signi
satis dedit, si quid esset quod posset dicere, se tacere
non posse, ut quamdiu tacuit in ceteris testibus scire
omnes possemus nihil habuisse quod diceret)—hoc
tum dixit, Philodamum et eius filium a C. Nerone
72 esse damnatos. De quo ne multa disseram, tantum
dico, secutum id esse Neronem et eius consilium:
quod Cornelium lictorem occisum esse constaret,

serious a danger at all, is more than he has, from
that day to this, been able to explain. For he cannot
allege that it was because he wanted to suppress a
revolt, requisition corn, exact a tax, or perform, at
any rate, some imperial duty: that it was because of
any harsh order, any inflicted or threatened punish-
ment. Even did he allege such a cause, he would
still deserve censure, did it appear that the reason of
his incurring a danger so grave was the brutality of
his orders to our allies. XXVIII. As things are, he 71
dare not himself either confess the true explanation
of that riot or concoct a false one; and inasmuch as
Publius Tettius, who was at that time a police officer
under Gaius Nero and a most respectable member of
that profession, has told us how he learnt the same
story in Lampsacum, while a man of so much dis-
tinction as Gaius Varro, who was at that time an
army captain in Asia, tells us that he has himself
heard exactly the same story from Philodamus, can
you doubt that Fortune's purpose was not so much
to rescue Verres from that danger as to keep him to
be sentenced by yourselves? Perhaps, however, he
will argue as Hortensius did when cross-examining
Tettius during the first part of the trial—and by the
way, Hortensius then showed clearly enough that
where there was anything he could say he could not
help saying it, so that all the time when the other
witnesses were being examined, and he kept silence,
we could all be sure that he had nothing to say:—
well, he then argued that Philodamus and his son
had been tried and sentenced by Gaius Nero. I will 72
not discuss this subject at length, only observing
that the principle on which Nero and his court went
was this, that the killing of the lictor Cornelius being

putasse non oportere esse cuiquam, ne in ulciscenda quidem iniuria, hominis occidendi potestatem. In quo video Neronis iudicio non te absolutum esse improbitatis, sed illos damnatos esse caedis.

Verum ista damnatio tamen cuius modi fuit? Audite, quaeso, iudices, et aliquando misereamini sociorum, et ostendite aliquid iis in vestra fide praesidii esse oportere. XXIX. Quod toti Asiae iure occisus videbatur istius ille verbo lictor, re vera minister improbissimae cupiditatis, pertimuit iste ne Philodamus Neronis iudicio liberaretur. Rogat et orat Dolabellam ut de sua provincia decedat, ad Neronem proficiscatur; se demonstrat incolumem esse non posse si Philodamo vivere atque aliquando
73 Romam venire licuisset. Commotus est Dolabella; fecit id quod multi reprehenderunt, ut exercitum, provinciam, bellum relinqueret, et in Asiam hominis nequissimi causa in alienam provinciam proficisceretur. Posteaquam ad Neronem venit, contendit ab eo ut Philodami causam cognosceret. Venerat ipse qui esset in consilio et primus sententiam diceret; adduxerat etiam praefectos et tribunos militares suos, quos Nero omnes in consilium vocavit; erat in consilio etiam aequissimus iudex ipse Verres; erant nonnulli togati creditores Graecorum, quibus ad exigendas pecunias improbissimi cuiusque legati
74 plurimum prodest gratia. Ille miser defensorem

established, they were bound to hold that homicide was not justifiable for any man, even in order to avenge a wrong. It is clear to me that this decision of Nero's merely finds those two guilty of homicide, and does not acquit Verres of gross misconduct.

And yet, after all, how was this precious verdict of homicide arrived at? Let me tell you the story, gentlemen; let your hearts at last feel some pity for our allies, and let them see that they may fairly trust your honour to grant them some measure of protection. XXIX. Since the whole of Asia regarded the slaying of that man—nominally Verres' lictor, really the instrument of his foul passions—as a just act, Verres was much afraid that Philodamus would be acquitted by Nero's court. He begged and implored Dolabella to leave his province and pay a visit to Nero, pointing out that he was himself a lost man if Philodamus were allowed to live and later on to
come to Rome. Dolabella was moved by this appeal, 73
and allowed himself to take the step, which has been widely censured, of leaving his army, his province, and the war he was conducting, and proceeding to Asia, another man's province, for the sake of a wholly worthless man. Upon reaching Nero, he pressed him strongly to try Philodamus. He had come there himself to be one of the court and give his verdict first; he had brought along with him his own civil and military officers, all of whom Nero invited to be members of the court; Verres, most impartial of judges, was himself a member; and there were also a number of Roman citizens to whom the Greeks owed money, for the recovery of which the favour of an unscrupulous assistant-governor is highly
useful. The unhappy Philodamus could find nobody 7

reperire neminem poterat; quis enim esset aut togatus, qui Dolabellae gratia, aut Graecus, qui eiusdem vi et imperio non moveretur? Accusator autem opponitur civis Romanus de creditoribus Lampsacenorum: qui si dixisset quod iste iussisset, per eiusdem istius lictores a populo pecuniam posset exigere. Cum haec omnia tanta contentione, tantis copiis agerentur; cum illum miserum multi accusarent, nemo defenderet; cumque Dolabella cum suis praefectis pugnaret in consilio, Verres fortunas agi suas diceret, idem testimonium diceret, idem esset in consilio, idem accusatorem parasset; haec cum omnia fierent, et cum hominem constaret occisum: tamen tanta vis istius iniuriae, tanta in isto improbitas putabatur, ut de Philodamo "amplius" pro-
75 nuntiaretur. XXX. Quid ego nunc in altera actione Cn. Dolabellae spiritus, quid huius lacrimas et concursationes proferam, quid C. Neronis, viri optimi atque innocentissimi, non nullis in rebus animum nimis timidum atque demissum? qui in illa re quid facere potuerit non habebat, nisi forte, id quod omnes tum desiderabant, ut ageret eam rem sine Verre et sine Dolabella: quicquid esset sine his actum omnes probarent; tum vero quod pronuntiatum est non per Neronem iudicatum, sed per Dolabellam ereptum existimabatur. Condemnatur enim perpaucis sen-

to defend him: for what Roman citizen could avoid being influenced by the desire of pleasing Dolabella, and what Greek could help fearing the strong arm of Dolabella's authority? The man selected as prosecutor was a Roman citizen, one of the Lampsacum money-lenders, who might expect the help of Dolabella's lictors in extorting his money from his debtors, provided he said what Dolabella ordered him to say. Yet though the campaign was pressed so vigorously, and forces so large employed; though the poor victim had many prosecutors and not one defender; though Dolabella and his officials fought hard as members of the court, and Verres declared that his fate was at stake; though Verres was at once a witness, a member of the court, and the organizer of the prosecution; in spite of all this, and in spite of the admitted fact of the homicide: nevertheless the wrong that Verres did was held to be so serious, and his own character so bad, that the verdict on Philodamus was "Further trial required."
XXX. No need for me to tell here how, at this second 75
hearing, Dolabella breathed fire and slaughter; how Verres ran appealing to this person and that with tears in his eyes; how a man with so good and clean a record as Nero could in some respects prove timid and over-submissive; though in this case he could not do other than he did, except perhaps what everyone at the time regretted his not doing, try the case without the help of Verres or Dolabella; everyone would approve a result reached without them, whatever it were, whereas the sentence actually pronounced was considered due more to Dolabella's intrigues than to Nero's judgement. Philodamus and his son by a very small majority

tentiis Philodamus et eius filius. Adest, instat, urget Dolabella ut quam primum securi feriantur, quo quam minime multi ex illis de istius nefario scelere audire
76 possent. Constituitur in foro Laodiceae spectaculum acerbum et miserum et grave toti Asiae provinciae, grandis natu parens adductus ad supplicium, ex altera parte filius: ille quod pudicitiam liberorum, hic quod vitam patris famamque sororis defenderat. Flebat uterque non de suo supplicio, sed pater de filii morte, de patris filius. Quid lacrimarum ipsum Neronem putatis profudisse? quem fletum totius Asiae fuisse? quem luctum et gemitum Lampsacenorum? securi esse percussos homines innocentes, nobiles, socios populi Romani atque amicos, propter hominis flagitiosissimi singularem nequitiam atque improbissimam cupiditatem!

77 Iam iam, Dolabella, neque me tui neque tuorum liberum, quos tu miseros in egestate atque in solitudine reliquisti, misereri potest. Verresne tibi tanti fuit ut eius libidinem hominum innocentium sanguine lui velles? Idcircone exercitum atque hostem relinquebas, ut tua vi et crudelitate istius hominis improbissimi pericula sublevares? Quod enim eum tibi quaestoris in loco constitueras, idcirco tibi amicum in perpetuum fore putasti? Nesciebas, ab eo Cn. Carbonem consulem, cuius re vera quaestor fuerat, non modo relictum sed etiam spoliatum auxiliis, pecunia, nefarie oppugnatum et proditum?

were found guilty of murder. Dolabella pressed and clamoured and appealed for their heads to be cut off at the first possible moment, so that the fewest possible people might have the chance of hearing, from the victims' own lips, the tale of
Verres' nefarious wickedness. In the forum of 76
Laodicea a cruel scene was enacted, which caused all the province of Asia profound unhappiness and distress: here the aged father led forth to execution, and there his son: the one for defending the purity of his children, the other for saving his father's life and sister's honour. Both wept, but neither for his own doom: the father for his son's fate, the son for his father's. Imagine the tears that Nero himself must have shed, the sorrow of all Asia, the grief and loud lamentations of the people of Lampsacum, for these innocent and high-born citizens of a state in friendly alliance with the Roman people, brought to the block by the rascality and lecherous passions of an unparalleled blackguard.

After this, Dolabella, I can feel no pity for you; 77
nor, after this, for the unhappy children you have left behind you in poverty and loneliness. Was Verres so precious to you that you could desire the marks of his lust to be washed out with innocent blood? Could you desert your troops as they faced the enemy, merely to lessen, by violent and cruel means, the risks to a scoundrel like that? Did you think that your having given him the position of your acting quaestor would keep him your friend for ever? Did you not know that the consul Gnaeus Carbo, whose quaestor he really was, was not merely forsaken by him, but robbed by him of supplies and money, most vilely attacked and betrayed by him?

Expertus igitur es istius perfidiam tum cum se ad inimicos tuos contulit, cum in te homo ipse nocens acerrimum testimonium dixit, cum rationes ad aerarium nisi damnato te referre noluit.

78 XXXI. Tantaene tuae, Verres, libidines erunt ut eas capere ac sustinere non provinciae populi Romani, non nationes exterae possint? Tune quod videris, quod audieris, quod concupieris, quod cogitaris, nisi id ad nutum tuum praesto fuerit, nisi libidini tuae cupiditatique paruerit, immittentur homines, expugnabuntur domus, civitates non modo pacatae, verum etiam sociorum atque amicorum, ad vim atque ad arma confugient, ut ab se atque a liberis suis legati populi Romani scelus ac libidinem propulsare possint? Nam quaero abs te circumsessusne sis Lampsaci, coeperitne domum in qua deversabare illa multitudo incendere, voluerintne legatum populi Romani comburere vivum Lampsaceni? Negare non potes; habeo enim testimonium tuum quod apud Neronem dixisti, habeo quas ad eundem litteras misisti. Recita
79 hunc ipsum locum de testimonio. TESTIMONIUM C. VERRIS IN ARTEMIDORUM. NON MULTO POST IN DOMUM. . . . Bellumne populo Romano Lampsacena civitas facere conabatur? deficere ab imperio ac nomine nostro volebat? Video enim et ex iis quae legi et audivi intellego, in qua civitate non modo legatus populi Romani circumsessus, non modo igni, ferro, manu, copiis oppugnatus, sed aliqua ex parte violatus sit, nisi publice satis factum sit, ei civitati bellum in-

[a] So that Dolabella, being in exile, could not be present to contradict any of Verres' false returns.
[b] Probably the son of Philodamus.

Well, you learnt how little he could be trusted, on the day when he joined the ranks of your enemies, when—guilty himself—he gave his savage evidence against you, and determined to secure your conviction before his accounts were audited by the Treasury.[a]

XXXI. Now shall your licentiousness, Verres, grow 78
and multiply till it overflows the limits and overtaxes the strength of the Roman and foreign world alike? Must you but see an object, or hear of it, or conceive the desire or even the thought of it, and then, unless it is on the spot at a sign from you, unless it complies with your lust and cupidity, shall assaults be made and houses taken by storm, shall the towns, not merely of conquered enemies, but of our allies and friends, resort to armed violence, as their only means of averting, from themselves and their children, the wicked passions of a Roman assistant-governor? Do you deny the facts? That you were besieged at Lampsacum, that the crowd there began to set fire to the house where you were staying, that the people of Lampsacum intended to burn a Roman governor alive? No, that you cannot: for the evidence you gave before Nero, the letter you wrote to Nero, are in my possession. Kindly read the actual passage from his evidence. *Evidence of Gaius Verres against* 79
Artemidorus.[b] "*Into the house, soon afterwards* . . ." Was the town of Lampsacum aiming at making war upon Rome? Did it mean to revolt from its allegiance to our rule? For I observe, and gather from what I have read and heard, that a town where a Roman representative is, I do not say blockaded, I do not say physically attacked on a large scale with fire and sword, but subjected to the least infraction of his dignity, if it fails officially to make amends, usually

80 dici atque inferri solere. Quae fuit igitur causa, cur cuncta civitas Lampsacenorum de contione, quem ad modum tute scribis, domum tuam concurrerit? Tu enim neque in litteris quas Neroni mittis neque in testimonio causam tanti tumultus ostendis ullam. Obsessum te dicis, ignem allatum, sarmenta circumdata, lictorem tuum occisum esse dicis, prodeundi tibi in publicum potestatem factam negas: causam huius tanti terroris occultas. Nam si quam Rubrius iniuriam suo nomine ac non impulsu tuo et tua cupiditate fecisset, de tui comitis iniuria questum ad te potius quam te oppugnatum venirent. Cum igitur quae causa illius tumultus fuerit testes a nobis producti dixerint, ipse celarit, nonne causam hanc quam nos proposuimus cum illorum testimonia tum istius taciturnitas perpetua confirmat?

81 XXXII. Huic homini parcetis igitur, iudices, cuius tanta peccata sunt ut ii quibus iniurias fecerit neque legitimum tempus exspectare ad ulciscendum neque vim tantam doloris in posterum differre potuerint? Circumsessus es. A quibus? A Lampsacenis. Barbaris hominibus, credo, aut iis qui populi Romani nomen contemnerent? Immo vero ab hominibus et natura et consuetudine et disciplina lenissimis; porro autem populi Romani condicione sociis, fortuna servis, voluntate supplicibus: ut perspicuum sit omnibus, nisi tanta acerbitas iniuriae, tanta vis

has war declared, and made, upon it. What then 80
made the whole community of Lampsacum, when their meeting broke up, gather together, as you say yourself in your letter, to attack your house? For neither in the letter you send Nero, nor in your evidence, do you suggest any reason for such an upheaval. You say that you were besieged, that fire was applied and brushwood heaped up round the door, that your lictor was killed, and that you were prohibited from going out into the street; but the cause of this alarming occurrence you suppress. For had Rubrius committed an outrage on his own account, and not at your instigation and to gratify your passions, they would have come before you to complain of the injury done by a member of your staff, and not to attack yourself. Since, therefore, the witnesses I have brought forward have told us the cause of that upheaval, and Verres has suppressed it, is not the case as I state it confirmed both by their evidence and by his continued silence?

XXXII. Will you then, gentlemen, have any mercy 81
on a man like this, who has committed wrongs so horrible that his victims could not wait for the legal hour of vengeance, nor postpone the satisfaction of resentment so overpowering? You were besieged, Verres; and by whom? By the people of Lampsacum. Savages, no doubt? Men who would feel no dread of the name of Rome? Far from it: by those whose nature, habits, and training made them the gentlest of human beings; by their status the allies, by their condition the slaves, by their disposition the humble suppliants, of the Roman nation: so that it must be obvious to everyone that, had not the wrong been so galling, the outrage so overpowering, as to make

sceleris fuisset ut Lampsaceni moriendum sibi potius quam perpetiendum putarent, numquam illos in eum locum progressuros fuisse ut vehementius odio libidinis
82 tuae quam legationis metu moverentur. Nolite, per deos immortales, cogere socios atque exteras nationes hoc uti perfugio, quo, nisi vos vindicatis, utentur necessario. Lampsacenos in istum numquam ulla res mitigasset nisi eum poenas Romae daturum credidissent. Etsi talem acceperant iniuriam quam nulla lege satis digne persequi possent, tamen incommoda sua nostris committere legibus et iudiciis quam dolori suo permittere maluerunt. Tu mihi, cum circumsessus a tam illustri civitate sis propter tuum scelus atque flagitium; cum coegeris homines miseros et calamitosos, quasi desperatis nostris legibus et iudiciis, ad vim, ad manus, ad arma confugere; cum te in oppidis et civitatibus amicorum non legatum populi Romani, sed tyrannum libidinosum crudelemque praebueris; cum apud exteras nationes imperii nominisque nostri famam tuis probris flagitiisque violaris; cum te ex ferro amicorum populi Romani eripueris atque ex flamma sociorum evolaris: hic tibi perfugium speras futurum? Erras. Ut huc incideres, non ut hic conquiesceres, illi te vivum exire passi sunt.

83 XXXIII. Et ais iudicium esse factum te iniuria circumsessum esse Lampsaci, quod Philodamus cum

these people feel death better than continued endurance, they would never have reached the point of being more influenced by loathing for your lewdness
than by fear of your power as governor. In God's 82
name, gentlemen, do not force the nations, without or within our empire, to resort to such extremities, as they must do, if you will not be their champions! Nothing would have stayed the fury of the people of Lampsacum against that man but the belief that he would be punished at Rome. Though they had suffered a wrong for which no legal process could give them adequate redress, yet even so they resolved to let our laws and judges do what they should, and not their resentment do what it would, to assuage their misery. Tell me this, Verres. Seeing that you were beset by the people of that reputable town through your own criminal and wicked act; that you forced those unhappy and unfortunate beings, as if there were no hope for them in our laws and lawcourts, to fall back upon force and armed violence; that you have behaved, in the towns and territories of friendly states, not like a Roman governor but like a lustful and cruel despot; that by your vile and wicked conduct you have defiled the fair name of Roman government in the eyes of all foreign nations; that you have eluded the sword Rome's friends raised to strike you, and escaped the flames Rome's allies kindled to consume you: do you think to find yourself a place of safety *here*? Not so. They meant this place to be a trap for you, and not a harbour of refuge, or they would never have let you get away alive.

XXXIII. The verdict against Philodamus and his 83
son implies, according to you, a verdict that the beleaguering of the house at Lampsacum was a

filio condemnatus sit. Quid si doceo, si planum facio teste homine nequam, verum ad hanc rem tamen idoneo—te ipso, inquam, teste docebo te huius circumsessionis tuae causam et culpam in alios transtulisse, neque in eos quos tu insimularas esse animadversum. Iam nihil te iudicium Neronis adiuvat. Recita quas ad Neronem litteras misit. EPISTOLA C. VERRIS AD NERONEM. THEMISTAGORAS ET THESSALUS. . . . Themistagoram et Thessalum scribis populum concitasse. Quem populum? qui te circumsedit, qui te vivum comburere conatus est. Ubi hos persequeris, ubi
84 accusas, ubi defendis ius nomenque legati? In Philodami iudicio dices id actum? Cedo mihi ipsius Verris testimonium; videamus quid idem iste iuratus dixerit. Recita. AB ACCUSATORE ROGATUS RESPONDIT IN HOC IUDICIO NON PERSEQUI: SIBI IN ANIMO ESSE ALIO TEMPORE PERSEQUI. Quid igitur te iuvat Neronis iudicium, quid Philodami damnatio? Legatus cum esses circumsessus, cumque, quem ad modum tute ad Neronem scripsisti, populo Romano communique causae legatorum facta esset insignis iniuria, non es persecutus. Dicis tibi in animo esse alio tempore persequi. Quod fuit id tempus? quando es persecutus? Cur imminuisti ius legationis? cur causam

wrong done to yourself. What if I prove, what if I establish clearly, on the evidence of a worthless person indeed, but still a useful one for my purpose—on your own evidence, I say, I will prove that you transferred to quite different persons the responsibility and blame for this beleaguering of you, and nevertheless took no steps to punish those whom you alleged to be guilty. The verdict of Nero's court does you no good now. Read the letter he wrote to Nero. *Letter of Gaius Verres to Nero. "Themistagoras and Thessalus . . ."* You here write that it was Themistagoras and Thessalus who instigated the populace. Instigated it to what? To beleaguer your house, and try to burn you alive. Where do we then find you proceeding against these persons, or prosecuting them, or maintaining the rights and prestige of the assistant-governorship?
Will you pretend that this was done at the trial of 84
Philodamus? Let us have the evidence there given by Verres himself: let us see what this same gentleman said as a sworn witness. Read the passage. *"In answer to the prosecutor he said that he was not taking proceedings in connexion with this case: that he intended to do so on some other occasion."* Now then, how are you helped by the verdict of Nero's court, or by the condemnation of Philodamus? Although you, an assistant-governor, were beleaguered in your house, and although, as you wrote to Nero yourself, a signal wrong was done to the Roman nation and to the interests of all assistant-governors, yet you took no proceedings. You assert that you intend to do so on some other occasion. When was this occasion? When did you take proceedings? Why did you infringe the privileges of assistant-governors? Why did

populi Romani deseruisti ac prodidisti? cur iniurias tuas coniunctas cum publicis reliquisti? Non te ad senatum causam deferre, non de tam atrocibus iniuriis conqueri, non eos homines qui populum concitarant
85 consulum litteris evocandos curare oportuit? Nuper M. Aurelio Scauro postulante, quod is Ephesi se quaestorem vi prohibitum esse dicebat quo minus e fano Dianae servum suum, qui in illud asylum confugisset, abduceret, Pericles Ephesius, homo nobilissimus, Romam evocatus est, quod auctor illius iniuriae fuisse arguebatur: tu, si te legatum ita Lampsaci tractatum esse senatum docuisses ut tui comites vulnerarentur, lictor occideretur, ipse circumsessus paene incenderere, eius autem rei duces et auctores principes fuisse, quos scribis, Themistagoram et Thessalum, quis non commoveretur? quis non ex iniuria quae tibi esset facta sibi provideret? quis non in ea re causam tuam, periculum commune agi arbitraretur? Etenim nomen legati eius modi esse debet quod non modo inter sociorum iura sed etiam inter hostium tela incolume versetur.

86 XXXIV. Magnum hoc Lampsacenum crimen est libidinis atque improbissimae cupiditatis: accipite nunc avaritiae prope modum in suo genere non levius.

[a] This rather thin sophistry depends on the accident that an envoy under a flag of truce has the same title as an assistant-governor: both are *legati*, "representatives."

you fail to be loyal and faithful to Rome? Why did you fail to right the public wrongs that were thus bound up with your own? Was it not your duty to bring up the case before the Senate? To protest against these grave outrages? To have the persons who instigated the populace summoned for trial to Rome by consular warrant? Not long ago Marcus 85
Aurelius Scaurus asserted that, while serving as quaestor at Ephesus, he was forcibly prevented from removing from the temple of Diana his own slave who had there taken sanctuary: and on his application an Ephesian of the highest rank named Pericles was summoned for trial to Rome, on the ground that he had been responsible for this act of injustice. If you had informed the Senate how you, an assistant-governor, had been treated by the people of Lampsacum—members of your staff wounded, your lictor killed, you yourself surrounded and almost burnt alive—and that the ringleaders and chief promoters had been the men you mention in your letter, Themistagoras and Thessalus: who would not have felt indignation? Who would not have reflected on the risk to himself implied in the wrong done to you? Who would not have held that, while the matter concerned yourself directly, the interests of everyone were endangered? And indeed the very name *legatus* [a] should inspire such respect that its bearer should be able to move unharmed not only among allies, who acknowledge our rights, but among enemies, whose swords are drawn against us.

XXXIV. Grave as this Lampsacene crime of lust 86
and evil passion must appear, you are now to listen to a charge of avaricious greed that in its own class

Milesios navem poposcit quae eum praesidii causa Myndum prosequeretur. Illi statim myoparonem egregium de sua classe ornatum atque armatum dederunt; hoc praesidio Myndum profectus est. Nam quid a Milesiis lanae publice abstulerit, item de sumptu in adventum, de contumeliis et iniuriis in magistratum Milesium, tametsi dici cum vere tum graviter et vehementer potest, tamen dicere praetermittam, eaque omnia testibus integra reservabo: illud, quod neque taceri ullo modo neque dici pro
87 dignitate potest, cognoscite. Milites remigesque Miletum Myndo pedibus reverti iubet: ipse myoparonem pulcherrimum, de decem Milesiorum navibus electum, L. Magio et L. Fannio, qui Myndi habitabant, vendidit. Hi sunt homines quos nuper senatus in hostium numero habendos censuit; hoc illi navigio ad omnes populi Romani hostes, usque ab Dianio ad Sinopen navigaverunt.

O di immortales, incredibilem avaritiam singularemque audaciam! Navem tu de classe populi Romani, quam tibi Milesia civitas ut te prosequeretur dedisset, ausus es vendere? Si te magnitudo maleficii, si te hominum existimatio non movebat, ne illud quidem cogitabas, huius improbissimi furti, sive adeo nefariae praedae, tam illustrem ac tam nobilem civitatem
88 testem futuram? An quia tum Cn. Dolabella in

[a] Some fifty miles, as against about thirty by sea.
[b] On the E. coast of Spain. The Sertorians there were in touch with Mithridates in Pontus.

is hardly less serious. Verres demanded from the people of Miletus a ship to accompany and protect him as far as Myndus. They promptly supplied him from their fleet with an excellent cruiser, fully furnished and equipped; and with this escort he set sail for Myndus. The story of the wool that he stole from the Milesians in the name of the state, of the expense, moreover, that his visit caused, and of his insolent and unjust behaviour towards the chief magistrate of the city—though this true story might be told in stern and emphatic language, I shall nevertheless forbear to tell it, keeping the whole of it for my witnesses. But I will ask you to listen to another story, which can neither by any means be suppressed nor be told as it deserves to be told.
Verres ordered the marines and rowers to return 87
from Myndus to Miletus on foot;[a] he himself took that handsome cruiser, the pick of the ten Milesian ships, and sold it to two residents of Miletus, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius. These are men whom the Senate recently declared public enemies, and this is the vessel in which they have made voyages, carrying messages between all the enemies of this country from Dianium[b] to Sinope.

God help us, what incredible greed, what matchless impudence! Here was a ship belonging to the Roman navy, given you by the city of Miletus as an escort, and you dared to sell it! Even though you were indifferent to the grossness of the offence, and to the discredit that it brought you, did it not even occur to you that this immoral theft—or rather, this nefarious act of piracy—would be established by the
evidence of that reputable and famous city? Or if 88
Dolabella, in deference to you, took steps at the

eum qui ei myoparoni praefuerat Milesiisque rem gestam renuntiarat animadvertere tuo rogatu conatus est, renuntiationemque eius, quae erat in publicas litteras relata illorum legibus, tolli iusserat, idcirco te ex hoc crimine elapsum esse arbitrabare? XXXV. Multum te ista fefellit opinio, et quidem multis in locis. Semper enim existimasti, et maxime in Sicilia, satis cautum tibi ad defensionem fore, si aut referri aliquid in litteras publicas vetuisses, aut quod relatum esset tolli coegisses. Hoc quam nihil sit, tametsi ex multis Siciliae civitatibus priore actione didicisti, tamen etiam in hac ipsa civitate cognosce. Sunt illi quidem dicto audientes quam diu adsunt ii qui imperant: simulac discesserunt, non solum illud perscribunt quod tum prohibiti sunt, sed etiam causam ascribunt cur non tum in litteras relatum sit.
89 Manent istae litterae Mileti, manent, et dum erit illa civitas manebunt. Decem enim naves iussu L. Murenae populus Milesius ex pecunia vectigali populi Romani fecerat, sicut pro sua quaeque parte Asiae ceterae civitates. Quam ob rem unam ex decem, non praedonum repentino adventu sed legati latrocinio, non vi tempestatis sed hac horribili tempestate sociorum amissam, in litteras publicas rettulerunt.
90 Sunt Romae legati Milesii, homines nobilissimi ac principes civitatis, qui tametsi mensem Februarium et consulum designatorum nomen exspectant, tamen

[a] Left in charge of the legions in Asia by Sulla at the end of 83.

[b] The usual month for receiving deputations from allied and foreign states.

[c] And therefore fearing for the success of their mission, if they offended these supporters of Verres in this trial.

time to punish the cruiser's captain, who had reported the occurrence to the Milesians; or if he ordered this report, which, as required by Milesian law, had been entered in their public records, to be removed therefrom: did that make you think you had escaped this charge? XXXV. That notion has played you very false, and done so very often too. You have always reckoned, and in Sicily more than anywhere, that you would find yourself adequately secured against attack, if you either forbade a fact to be entered in the public records, or compelled its removal if entered already. How futile this belief is you learnt, to be sure, at the first hearing, from not a few of the states of Sicily, but you may learn it a little better from this same state Miletus. They certainly obeyed the order given them so long as the man who gave it was on the spot; but the moment he went away, they not only made the prohibited entry, but added the reason why it was not made at
the time. There that record of you is at Miletus: 89
there it is, and so long as Miletus endures, there it will be. By the orders of Lucius Murena,[a] the people of Miletus built ten ships as part of their imperial tribute, as the other cities of Asia likewise did, each in proportion to its means: and this is why the loss of one of their ten—not through a sudden descent of pirates but through open robbery on the part of a governor, not in a hurricane at sea but in this appalling human hurricane that shipwrecks our
allies—was entered in their public records. Envoys 90
from Miletus are now in Rome, men of high rank and political importance in their own community. These await with misgiving the month of February,[b] knowing as they do the names of the consuls-elect[c];

hoc tantum facinus non modo negare interrogati sed ne producti quidem reticere poterunt: dicent, inquam, et religione adducti et domesticarum legum metu, quid illo myoparone factum sit; ostendent C. Verrem, in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit, piratam ipsum consceleratum fuisse.

XXXVI. C. Malleolo quaestore Cn. Dolabellae occiso, duas sibi hereditates venisse arbitratus est; unam quaestoriae procurationis, nam a Dolabella statim pro quaestore iussus est esse: alteram tutelae, nam, cum pupilli Malleoli tutor esset, in bona eius
91 impetum fecit. Nam Malleolus in provinciam sic copiose profectus erat ut domi prorsus nihil relinqueret; praeterea pecunias occuparat apud populos et syngraphas fecerat; argenti optimi caelati grande pondus secum tulerat (nam ille quoque sodalis istius erat in hoc morbo et cupiditate); grande pondus argenti, familiam magnam, multos artifices, multos formosos homines reliquerat. Iste quod argenti placuit invasit; quae mancipia voluit abduxit; vina ceteraque quae in Asia facillime comparantur, quae ille reliquerat, asportavit; reliqua vendidit, pecuniam
92 exegit. Cum ad HS viciens quinquiens redegisse constaret, ut Romam rediit nullam litteram pupillo, nullam matri eius, nullam tutoribus reddidit; servos

none the less, they will not be able to deny, when cross-examined, their knowledge of this monstrous action, nor even to refrain from speaking of it as soon as they are in the witness-box. They will tell us, I repeat—conscience, and respect for their own law, will make them tell us—what happened to that cruiser; they will prove that Gaius Verres acted, towards the fleet that was built to fight the pirates, like a pirate of the guiltiest description.

XXXVI. When Gaius Malleolus, Dolabella's quaestor, was killed, Verres reckoned that two inheritances had come to him; one was that of the quaestorial functions, for he was at once instructed to act as quaestor by Dolabella; the other that of a guardianship, for the young Malleolus being his ward he launched an attack upon his property. Malleolus 91
had gone off to his province so amply provided that he had left nothing at all at home behind him; he had, moreover, invested money locally, and lent sums on note of hand. He had brought with him a great mass of fine silver plate, his morbid passion for which was a bond of union between himself and Verres. At his death he left this great mass of plate, and a large household of slaves, including a number of skilled workmen and a number of handsome attendants. Verres seized all the plate that took his fancy; took away all the slaves he wanted; shipped off what wine and other things easily procurable in Asia Malleolus had left; sold everything else, and got the money from the buyers. Though it was clearly 92
understood that he had received not less than £25,000, he sent not a word of acknowledgement to his ward when he got back to Rome, not a word to the mother or to the other guardians. Keeping those

artifices pupilli cum haberet domi, circum pedes autem homines formosos et litteratos, suos esse dicebat, se emisse. Cum saepius mater et avia pueri postularent uti, si non redderet pecuniam nec rationem daret, diceret saltem quantum pecuniae Malleoli deportasset, a multis efflagitatus aliquando dixit HS deciens; deinde in codicis extrema cera nomen infimum in flagitiosa litura fecit: expensa Chrysogono servo HS sescenta milia, accepta pupillo Malleolo rettulit. Quo modo ex deciens HS sescenta sint facta, quo modo DC. eodem modo quadrarint ut illa de Cn. Carbonis pecunia reliqua HS sescenta facta sint, quo modo Chrysogono expensa lata sint, cur id nomen infimum in lituraque sit, vos existimabitis.
93 Tamen HS sescenta milia cum accepta rettulisset, HS quinquaginta milia soluta non sunt; homines, posteaquam reus factus est, alii redditi, alii etiam nunc retinentur, peculia omnium vicariique retinentur.

XXXVII. Haec est istius praeclara tutela. En cui tuos liberos committas, en memoriam mortui sodalis, en metum vivorum existimationis. Cum tibi se tota Asia spoliandam ac vexandam tradidisset, cum tibi exposita esset omnis ad praedandum Pamphylia, contentus his tam opimis rebus non fuisti? manus a

[a] That of the Malleolus estate.

[b] *i.e.*, with instructions to refund it to young Malleolus. Or, perhaps, Chrysogonus was the slave of Malleolus.

[c] See § 36. Verres has a tendency to invent fictitious sums of £6000.

[d] Or perhaps "£500 of this was not paid back"; but *non soluta sunt* would be more natural Latin in that case.

of his ward's slaves who were skilled workmen in his house, and those who were good-looking and well-educated in attendance upon himself, he gave out that they were his own, that he had bought them. The boy's mother and grandmother asked him repeatedly to tell them at least how much money belonging to Malleolus he had brought away with him, even if he would not hand it over or furnish a statement of account; and appeals from many quarters at last made him own up to £10,000. After this, on the last leaf of the account-book,[a] he inserted a final entry over a disgraceful erasure, showing £6000 as received from his ward Malleolus and paid over to his slave Chrysogonus.[b] How that £10,000 has become £6000; how that £6000 works out so exactly in the same way that it becomes the same total as the £6000 balance in the Carbo account;[c] how that money came to be entered as paid to Chrysogonus; and why that item is at the foot of the page and written over an erasure: all this you, gentlemen, will judge for yourselves. Even so, though he had entered £6000 93
as received from Malleolus, not £500 was paid back[d]; some of the slaves were handed over, after this case against him began, but others are being withheld even now, and their private possessions and their own slaves are also all being withheld.

XXXVII. This is the edifying story of his guardianship. Here is the man to whom to entrust your children! Here is loyalty to the memory of a dead friend, and respect for the opinion of the living! With all Asia offered you to harry and plunder, Verres, and all Pamphylia at the mercy of your piratical raids, did such riches as that not satisfy

tutela, manus a pupillo, manus a sodalis filio abstinere non potuisti? Iam te non Siculi, non aratores, ut dictitas, circumveniunt, non hi qui decretis edictisque tuis in te concitati infestique sunt: Malleolus a me productus est et mater eius atque avia, quae miserae flentes eversum a te puerum patriis bonis
94 esse dixerunt. Quid exspectas? an dum ab inferis ipse Malleolus exsistat atque abs te officia tutelae, sodalitatis familiaritatisque flagitet? Ipsum putato adesse. Homo avarissime et spurcissime, redde bona sodalis filio, si non quae abstulisti, at quae confessus es! Cur cogis sodalis filium hanc primam in foro vocem cum dolore et querimonia emittere? cur sodalis uxorem, sodalis socrum, domum denique totam sodalis mortui contra te testimonium dicere? cur pudentissimas lectissimasque feminas in tantum virorum conventum insolitas invitasque prodire cogis? Recita omnium testimonia. TESTIMONIUM MATRIS ET AVIAE.

95 XXXVIII. Pro quaestore vero quo modo iste commune Milyadum vexarit, quo modo Lyciam, Pamphyliam, Pisidiam Phrygiamque totam frumento imperando, aestimando, hac sua, quam tum primum excogitavit, Siciliensi aestimatione afflixerit, non est necesse demonstrare verbis. Hoc scitote, cum iste civi-

[a] Milyas was in Pisidia.
[b] The province of Cilicia at this date covered a wide area. Part of Phrygia was in Asia: but Cilicia also included Lycaonia and Cyprus.

you? Could you not keep your hands from outraging your guardian's duty, your ward, your friend's son? In *this* matter it is not the Sicilians, not the farmers, who (as you keep asserting) are trying to circumvent you, not those whose hatred of you has been aroused by your decisions and regulations: it is young Malleolus whom I have brought into court, it is his mother and grandmother, who testify with tears in their eyes, poor creatures, that you have cheated the boy out of his patrimony. What more would 94
you have? Shall Malleolus himself rise up from the world of shades, and demand of you the performance of your duties towards him as guardian and companion and friend? Imagine him here in person. Greedy and unclean wretch, restore the property of your friend's son; if not all that you stole, at least all that you admitted to stealing. Why do you force the first words that your friend's son utters in our Forum to be a cry of pain and protest? Why do you force your friend's wife, and the mother of your friend's wife, the whole household of your dead friend, to testify thus against you? See these modest and virtuous ladies, unwillingly facing the unaccustomed sight of this great gathering of men—why do you force them to do it?—Read the evidence given by all of them. *Evidence of the mother and the grandmother.*

XXXVIII. How, as acting quaestor, he harried the 95
Milyad[a] community, and the injuries he inflicted throughout Lycia and Pamphylia, Pisidia and Phrygia,[b] by demanding corn and making them pay money instead, on his own Sicilian system which he first invented during this period—this I need not expound in detail. But you should note this result

tatibus frumentum, coria, cilicia, saccos imperaret, neque ea sumeret, proque his rebus pecuniam exigeret, his nominibus solis Cn. Dolabellae HS ad triciens litem esse aestimatam; quae omnia, etiamsi voluntate Dolabellae fiebant, per istum tamen omnia gere-
96 bantur. Consistam in uno nomine: multa enim sunt ex eodem genere. Recita. DE LITIBUS AESTIMATIS CN. DOLABELLAE PR. PECUNIAE REDACTAE. QUOD A COMMUNI MILYADUM . . . Te haec coegisse, te aestimasse, tibi pecuniam numeratam esse dico; eademque vi et iniuria, cum pecunias maximas cogeres, per omnes partes provinciae te tamquam aliquam calamitosam tempestatem pestemque pervasisse de-
97 monstro. Itaque M. Scaurus, qui Cn. Dolabellam accusavit, istum in sua potestate ac dicione tenuit. Homo adulescens cum istius in inquirendo multa furta ac flagitia cognosceret, fecit perite et callide: volumen eius rerum gestarum maximum isti ostendit; ab homine quae voluit in Dolabellam abstulit; istum testem produxit; dixit iste quae velle accusatorem putavit. Quo ex genere mihi testium, qui cum isto furati sunt, si uti voluissem, magna copia fuisset; qui ut se periculo litium, coniunctione criminum liberarent,

[a] He threatened to prosecute Verres, on the strength of what he knew against him, unless Verres would help him against Dolabella.

of his practice of demanding corn, hides, Cilician rugs and sacks from the various cities, refusing to accept them, and exacting their money value instead—that under these heads alone the damages assessed against Gnaeus Dolabella amounted to thirty thousand pounds: and though it all took place with Dolabella's approval, it was all carried out under Verres' personal direction. I will pause 96
to consider a single item; there are plenty of others like it. Read this, please. *The assessment of damages against the praetor Gnaeus Dolabella on account of money illegally exacted by the state. "Inasmuch as from the Milyad community . . ."* It was you, Verres, I assert, who made these requisitions, you who fixed their value in money, you to whom the money was paid; and I am prepared to show how, amassing huge sums of money with equal violence and injustice, you swept like some destroying hurricane or pestilence through every district in the province. And that, gentlemen, is why Marcus Scaurus, the 97
prosecutor of Dolabella, kept Verres in his power and under his control. Having in the course of his inquiries discovered the man's numerous thefts and evil deeds, the young fellow took an ingenious and skilful line with him. He showed him a large book full of his exploits,[a] extracted from him the information he needed against Dolabella, and called him as a witness; whereupon the rascal said what he supposed the prosecutor wished him to say. (I myself could have found any number of witnesses of this type, Verres' accomplices in robbery, if I had cared to make use of them: men who, to secure themselves against the risk of being fined or prosecuted in conjunction with him, were ready to sink to any depth

98 quo ego vellem descensuros pollicebantur. Eorum ego voluntatem omnium repudiavi; non modo proditori sed ne perfugae quidem locus in meis castris cuiquam fuit. Forsitan meliores illi accusatores habendi sint, qui haec omnia fecerunt. Ita est; sed ego defensorem in mea persona, non accusatorem, maxime laudari volo. Rationes ad aerarium antequam Dolabella condemnatus est non audet referre; impetrat a senatu ut dies sibi prorogaretur, quod tabulas suas ab accusatoribus Dolabellae obsignatas diceret, proinde quasi exscribendi potestatem non haberet. Solus est hic qui numquam rationes ad aerarium referat.

XXXIX. Audistis quaestoriam rationem, tribus versiculis relatam; legationis, non nisi condemnato et eiecto eo qui posset reprehendere: nunc denique praeturae, quam ex senatus consulto statim referre
99 debuit, usque ad hoc tempus non rettulit. Quaestorem se in senatu exspectare dixit: proinde quasi non, ut quaestor sine praetore possit rationem referre (ut tu, Hortensi, ut omnes), eodem modo sine quaestore praetor. Dixit idem Dolabellam impetrasse. Omen magis patribus conscriptis quam causa placuit; probaverunt. Verum quaestores quoque iampridem venerunt: cur non rettulisti? Illarum rationum ex

[a] *i.e.*, never does it properly, and always tries to avoid doing it at all.

I might choose to order. I rejected the advances of 98
all such persons: no room has been found in my camp for traitors, nor even for simple deserters. It may be that those who have adopted all such methods are to be accounted better prosecutors than I am. Very good. But it is the defender's part, and not the prosecutor's, which I am most ambitious to play with applause.) Well, Verres dared not submit his accounts to the Treasury till after Dolabella's condemnation. He obtained leave from the Senate for an extension of time, on the ground that his account-books had been taken into custody by Dolabella's prosecutors; as if he were not at liberty to make copies of them! He is the one man who will *never* submit his accounts[a] to the Treasury.

XXXIX. You have heard read the accounts relating to his quaestorship, three lines long; and those relating to his assistant-governorship, submitted only after the man who might have exposed them was condemned and banished; and now, lastly, there are those of his praetorship, which he was bound, by decree of the Senate, to submit without delay, and to this very day has not submitted at
all. He told the Senate that he was waiting for 99
his quaestor: ridiculous! a quaestor can submit accounts in his praetor's absence—as you did yourself, Hortensius, and everyone else; and of course a praetor can equally well do so in his quaestor's absence. He said that Dolabella had been granted the same concession: the House found the argument weak but the parallel suggestive, and agreed. But the quaestors too arrived long ago: why are the accounts not yet submitted? Of the former accounts belonging to your disgusting administration as

ea faece legationis quaestoriaeque tuae procurationis illa sunt nomina, quae Dolabellae necessario sunt aestimata. EX LITIBUS AESTIMATIS DOLABELLAE PR. ET
100 PRO PR. Quod minus Dolabella Verri acceptum rettulit quam Verres illi expensum tulerit, HS quingenta triginta quinque milia; et quod plus fecit Dolabella Verrem accepisse quam iste in suis tabulis habuit, HS ducenta triginta duo milia; et quod plus frumenti fecit accepisse istum, HS deciens et octingenta milia—quod tu, homo castissimus, aliud in tabulis habebas. Hinc illae extraordinariae pecuniae, quas nullo duce tamen aliqua ex particula investigamus, redundarunt; hinc ratio cum Q. et Cn. Postumis Curtiis, multis nominibus, quorum in tabulis iste habet nullum; hinc HS quater deciens P. Tadio numeratum Athenis testibus planum faciam; hinc empta apertissime praetura—nisi forte id etiam
101 dubium est, quo modo iste praetor factus sit. Homo scilicet aut industria aut opera probata aut frugalitatis existimatione praeclara aut denique, id quod levissimum est, assiduitate, qui ante quaesturam cum meretricibus lenonibusque vixisset, quaesturam ita gessisset quem ad modum cognovistis, Romae post quaesturam illam nefariam vix triduum constitisset, absens non in oblivione iacuisset sed in assidua commemoratione omnibus omnium flagitiorum fuisset:

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[a] *i.e.*, the false entries that, being accepted as true, led to Dolabella's being condemned to pay the discrepancies between them and his own entries.

[b] † . . . † These words are perhaps a verbal quotation from the assessment.

[c] *i.e.*, as the result of such deliberate falsifications as that just mentioned.

assistant-governor and quaestor, here are the items that necessarily came into the damages assessed against your friend Dolabella.[a] *Extract from the schedule of damages assessed against the praetor and propraetor Dolabella.* †Amount entered by Verres 100
as paid to Dolabella, less amount returned by Dolabella as received from Verres, £5350: amount shown by Dolabella as paid to Verres, in excess of what was shown in Verres' account, £2320: corn shown by Dolabella as received by Verres, in excess of amount actually received, £18,000†[b]—this because a man of your spotless honesty, Verres, entered the amount otherwise. Hence[c] the abundance of those unrecorded sums of money which—though without assistance—I have to some small extent tracked down: hence the account Verres kept[d] with the Postumi Curtii, Quintus and Gnaeus, containing a great many entries, not one of which appears in his books: hence the £40,000 which I will bring evidence to prove was paid at Athens to Publius Tadius: hence the bare-faced purchase of his praetorship—or is there some doubt even about the way in which he made himself praetor? As if he were a man who 101
had toiled hard, or done good work, or had a high character for uprightness, or even, to go no higher, taken trouble about anything! This man, who before he was quaestor spent his time with courtesans and their keepers, discharged his quaestor's duties in the way you have heard related, hardly stayed three days together in Rome after that nefarious quaestorship was over, and did not rest forgotten in his absence, but had everyone perpetually talking about all his

[d] Cicero had got hold of the books kept by the Curtii showing their account with Verres; see § 102.

is repente, ut Romam venit, gratis praetor factus est? Alia porro pecunia ne accusaretur data. Cui sit data, nihil ad me, nihil ad rem pertinere arbitror: datam quidem esse tum inter omnes recenti negotio facile
102 constabat. Homo stultissime et amentissime, tabulas cum conficeres et cum extraordinariae pecuniae crimen subterfugere velles, satis te elapsurum omni suspicione arbitrabare, si quibus pecuniam credebas iis expensum non ferres, neque in tuas tabulas ullum nomen referres, cum tot tibi nominibus acceptum Curtii referrent? Quid proderat tibi te expensum illis non tulisse? An tuis solis tabulis te causam dicturum existimasti?

103 XL. Verum ad illam iam veniamus praeclaram praeturam, criminaque ea quae notiora sunt his qui adsunt quam nobis qui meditati ad dicendum paratique venimus; in quibus non dubito quin offensionem neglegentiae vitare atque effugere non possim. Multi enim ita dicent: "De illo nihil dixit in quo ego interfui: illam iniuriam non attigit quae mihi aut quae amico meo facta est, quibus ego in rebus interfui." His omnibus qui istius iniurias norunt, hoc est populo Romano universo, me vehementer excusatum volo,

wicked actions—it is likely indeed that the moment he came to Rome he was made praetor free of charge. More money still was paid to hinder his prosecution. To whom it was paid is a question that, I take it, concerns neither me nor the matter in hand: that paid it was, nobody at the time doubted for one moment, when the business was fresh. Oh 102
you consummate fool and madman, when you were making up your books and scheming to escape being charged in connexion with those unrecorded sums of money, did you fancy that you could quite evade all suspicion simply by not recording the payment of money to those who took charge of it for you, or by showing your books with no such entries at all, when the accounts of the Curtii recorded all these sums received from you? How did it help you to make no entry of what you paid to them? Or did you imagine that your case would be tried on the evidence of no one's accounts but your own?

XL. But now let us come to his illustrious career 103
as praetor. Let us proceed to offences that are more familiar to this audience than to us who have thought out and prepared the case we have come here to conduct. In dealing with these I shall doubtless not succeed in escaping criticism for want of thoroughness. Complaints like this will be common: "He has not referred to such-and-such an instance, with which I was concerned; he has not touched on such-and-such an act of injustice done to me, or done to my friend, things with which I was concerned" To all those who are acquainted with the man's perversions of justice—which is as much as to say, to the entire Roman nation—I wish to offer this emphatic defence of myself. It is not any

non neglegentia mea fore ut multa praeteream, sed quod alia testibus integra reservari velim, multa autem propter rationem brevitatis ac temporis praetermittenda existimem. Fatebor etiam illud invitus, me prorsus, cum iste punctum temporis nullum vacuum peccato praeterire passus sit, omnia quae ab isto commissa sunt non potuisse cognoscere. Quapropter ita me de praeturae criminibus auditote ut ex utroque genere, et iuris dicendi et sartorum tectorum exigendorum, ea postuletis quae maxime digna sint eo reo cui parvum aut mediocre obici nihil
104 oporteat. Nam ut praetor factus est, qui auspicato a Chelidone surrexisset, sortem nactus est urbanae provinciae magis ex sua Chelidonisque, quam ex populi Romani voluntate. Qui principio qualis in edicto constituendo fuerit cognoscite.

XLI. P. Annius Asellus mortuus est C. Sacerdote praetore. Is cum haberet unicam filiam neque census esset, quod eum natura hortabatur, lex nulla prohibebat, fecit, ut filiam bonis suis heredem

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[a] Instead of his going to the temple to take his auspices, as praetor-elect, before the drawing of lots, he bade the augur attend him in the chamber where he and his mistress were lying: an irreligious proceeding that unfortunately, though appropriately, was followed by his securing the sphere of duty in which he could do most harm. (Or the meaning may be that he took no auspices, but substituted the embraces of his mistress.)

[b] The *edictum perpetuum*, or code of regulations regarding all matters that came within the praetor's jurisdiction, revised by each praetor (usually with close respect to the principles followed by his predecessors) at the beginning of his tenure of office, and supposed to be binding on him throughout his tenure. It was meant to interpret, to supplement, and to define the application of existing statute law (*leges*).

want of thoroughness that will cause me to pass over a great deal; but there are some things I wish to reserve untouched for my witnesses' evidence; and there are many that considerations of brevity and economy of time I feel make it necessary to leave out. I must also confess with regret that, since Verres never let one minute go by without doing something wrong, I have simply been unable to acquaint myself with every villainy he has perpetrated. In listening to me, therefore, as I deal with the crimes of his praetorship, I would have you look under both heads, those namely of judicial decisions and the maintenance of public buildings, for mention of such crimes only as most befit the dignity of a man who can never be fitly charged with anything trifling or even moderately serious. For as soon as 104
he became praetor he rose, after taking his auspices, from the embraces of Chelidon, to receive the city praetorship as his department, a result of the lot that was more gratifying to him and Chelidon than it was to the Roman nation.[a] And first let us see the light in which the composition of his edict[b] displays him.

XLI. During the praetorship of Gaius Sacerdos,[c] there died one Publius Annius Asellus. He, being the father of an only child, a daughter, and not having been registered,[d] had taken the step, which his natural feelings prompted and there was no law to forbid, of making his daughter his heir: and she

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[c] The preceding year 75. He preceded Verres both as city praetor and as propraetor of Sicily.

[d] The Lex Voconia apparently forbade a man to make a woman his heir. But it seems that any man who had not been registered at the last *census* was not subject to this law.

institueret: heres erat filia. Faciebant omnia cum pupilla, legis aequitas, voluntas patris, edicta praetorum, consuetudo iuris eius quod erat tum cum
105 Asellus est mortuus. Iste praetor designatus (utrum admonitus, an temptatus, an, qua est ipse sagacitate in his rebus, sine duce ullo, sine indice, pervenerit ad hanc improbitatem, nescio: vos tantum hominis audaciam amentiamque cognoscite) appellat heredem L. Annium, qui erat institutus secundum filiam (non enim mihi persuadetur istum ab illo prius appellatum); dicit se posse ei condonare edicto hereditatem; docet hominem quid possit fieri. Illi bona res, huic vendibilis videbatur. Iste, tametsi singulari est audacia, tamen ad pupillae matrem summittebat; malebat pecuniam accipere ne quid novi ediceret, quam ut hoc edictum tam improbum et tam in-
106 humanum interponeret. Tutores pecuniam praetori si pupillae nomine dedissent, grandem praesertim, quem ad modum in rationem inducerent, quem ad modum sine periculo suo dare possent, non videbant; simul et istum fore tam improbum non arbitrabantur: saepe appellati pernegaverunt. Iste ad arbitrium eius cui condonarat hereditatem ereptam a liberis quam aequum edictum scripserit, quaeso, cognoscite. CUM INTELLEGAM LEGEM VOCONIAM . . . Quis umquam crederet mulierum adversarium Verrem futurum? an ideo aliquid contra mulieres fecit ne totum edictum ad

was so accordingly. All the arguments were in the child's favour—equity, the father's wishes, the edicts of past praetors, and the legal usage existing at the date of Asellus's death. Verres after his election— 105
whether somebody advised him of the facts or set him on, or his own natural acuteness in these matters led him without guidance or information to such an immoral proceeding, is more than I can say; I merely tell you the reckless and unscrupulous thing he did—Verres called on Lucius Annius, the reversionary heir (for I cannot believe the suggestion that Annius called on him first); told him that he could, by means of his edict, get him the inheritance; and showed him what could be done about it. Annius was disposed to do business, and Verres reckoned on getting his price for it. But in spite of his extreme audacity he nevertheless made secret proposals to the girl's mother; to be bribed not to make an innovation in his edict suited him better than to bring into play a clause so immoral and brutal. The 106
child's guardians did not like the idea of paying him money, and that a large sum, on their ward's behalf, not seeing how they could enter it in their accounts, nor how they could pay it without risk to themselves. Nor did they suppose him capable of such villainy; and though often pressed, they refused their consent. Listen, if you please, to the equitable clause in his edict composed to suit the person for whom he was getting this inheritance at the cost of its owner's child. "*Since I understand that the Voconian Law* . . ." Now who would ever suspect that Verres would be the enemy of women? Has he, I wonder, done a little to hurt them in order

Chelidonis arbitrium scriptum videretur? Cupiditati hominum ait se obviam ire. Quis potius, non modo his temporibus sed etiam apud maiores nostros? quis tam remotus fuit a cupiditate? Dic, quaeso, cetera; delectat enim me hominis gravitas, scientia iuris, auctoritas. QUI AB A. POSTUMIO, Q. FULVIO CENSORIBUS,
107 POSTVE EA . . . . . . FECIT FECERIT. Fecit fecerit? quis umquam edixit isto modo? quis umquam eius rei fraudem aut periculum proposuit edicto quae neque post edictum reprehendi neque ante edictum provideri potuit? XLII. Iure, legibus, auctoritate omnium qui consulebantur, testamentum P. Annius fecerat non improbum, non inofficiosum, non inhumanum; quodsi ita fecisset, tamen post illius mortem nihil de testamento illius novi iuris constitui oporteret. Voconia lex te videlicet delectabat. Imitatus esses ipsum illum Q. Voconium, qui lege sua hereditatem ademit nulli neque virgini neque mulieri: sanxit in posterum, qui post eos censores census esset, ne quis heredem virginem neve mulierem faceret.
108 In lege Voconia non est FECIT FECERIT; neque in ulla praeteritum tempus reprehenditur, nisi eius rei quae sua sponte scelerata ac nefaria est, ut, etiamsi lex

[a] *i.e.*, there was no reason for anyone to avoid it, since it was neither wrong *nor* illegal then.

to avoid the impression that the whole of his edict was composed to suit Chelidon's tastes? He tells us that he is taking measures against greed: and who more fit to do so, in our own time, or at any time in our history? Was ever man so untouched by greed as he is? Pray let us hear the rest; it is really delightful to see the man's high moral tone, and his knowledge of law, and his impressive personality; read, please. "*Any man who, since the censorship of Aulus Postumius and Quintus Fulvius or any following year . . . has done or shall do so.*"
"Has done or shall do"? Did ever such an ex- 107
pression occur in an edict before? Did an edict ever before attach illegality, or liability to punishment, to an act that cannot be attacked as wrong after the edict was issued, and could not be avoided[a] before it was issued? XLII. The law, the statute-book, and all the experts consulted, declared that Publius Annius had made a will that was neither wrong nor neglectful nor unfeeling. But had it been so, there was still no justification, after his death, for making any legal innovation applicable to his will. It appears that the Voconian law enjoyed your approval. You might well have followed the example of Quintus Voconius himself, then: for his law did not deprive any girl or woman of her position of heiress if she had it already; it merely enjoined that no one, registered after the year of the censors named, should make a girl or woman his heiress in future.
In the Voconian Law we do not find "Has done or 108
shall do"; nor in any law is a past action made subject to censure, except such as of their own nature are criminal and vile, so that they ought to have been avoided at all costs even if no law for-

non esset, magno opere vitanda fuerit. Atque in his ipsis rebus multa videmus ita sancta esse legibus ut ante facta in iudicium non vocentur: Cornelia testamentaria, nummaria, ceterae complures, in quibus non ius aliquod novum populo constituitur, sed sancitur ut, quod semper malum facinus fuerit, eius quaestio ad populum pertineat ex certo tempore.
109 De iure vero civili si quis novi quid instituerit, is non omnia quae ante acta sunt rata esse patietur? Cedo mihi leges Atinias, Furias, Fusias, ipsam, ut dixi, Voconiam, omnes praeterea de iure civili; hoc reperies in omnibus statui ius quo post eam legem populus utatur. Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto praetoris edictum legem annuam dicunt esse: tu edicto plus complecteris quam lege. Si finem edicto praetoris afferunt Kalendae Ianuariae, cur non initium quoque edicti nascitur a Kalendis Ianuariis? An in eum annum progredi nemo poterit edicto quo praetor alius futurus est, in illum quo alius praetor fuit re-
110 gredietur? Ac si hoc iuris, non unius hominis causa edixisses, cautius composuisses. XLIII. Scribis SI QUIS HEREDEM FECIT FECERIT. Quid si plus legarit quam ad heredem heredesve perveniat, quod per legem Voconiam ei qui census non sit licet: cur hoc, cum in

[a] Because retrospectively.
[b] *i.e.*, more than half the whole estate.

bade them. And even so we often find that a law prohibiting such actions precludes prosecution of those who have already committed them: the Cornelian laws against forgery of wills, for instance, and coining, and a number of others, in which no new legal principle is set up for the community, but it is provided that what has always in fact been an immoral action shall become subject to criminal proceedings before the community after a fixed date.
But where a man makes some innovation in *civil* law, 109
he must surely allow all acts previously committed to be legally valid. Look at the Atinian Law, the Furian, the Fusian, the Voconian Law itself, as I have said, and all the others that are concerned with civil rights: in all of them you will find the same thing, provisions that are to be binding on the community *after* the law comes into force. Even those who attach most weight to the praetor's edict say that an edict is a law valid for twelve months: you make your edict operate more widely[a] than a law can. If the validity of a praetor's edict ends on the 1st of January, why does its validity not also begin from the 1st of January? Nobody can use his edict to make a forward encroachment on the year in which another man will be praetor: is he to make a backward encroachment on the year in which
another man has been praetor? Moreover, had you 110
framed this clause to improve the law and not the prospects of an individual, you would have done it more carefully. XLIII. You write "Any person who has made or shall make his heir . . ." What of his bequeathing away more than comes to the heir or heirs?[b] That by the Voconian law is legal for a person not registered at a census: why do you

eodem genere sit, non caves? Quia non generis sed hominis causam verbis amplecteris; ut facile appareat te pretio, non iure, esse commotum. Atque hoc si in posterum edixisses, minus esset nefarium; tamen esset improbum; sed tum vituperari posset, in crimen[1] venire non posset, nemo enim committeret. Nunc est eius modi edictum ut quivis intellegat non populo esse scriptum sed P. Annii secundis here-
111 dibus. Itaque cum abs te caput illud tam multis verbis mercennarioque prooemio esset ornatum, ecquis est inventus postea praetor, qui idem illud ediceret? Non modo nemo edixit, sed ne metuit quidem quisquam ne quis ediceret. Nam post te praetorem multi testamenta eodem modo fecerunt[2]: in his nuper Annaea de multorum propinquorum sententia, pecuniosa mulier, quod censa non erat, testamento fecit heredem filiam. Itaque hoc magnum iudicium hominum de istius singulari improbitate, quod C. Verres sua sponte instituisset, id neminem metuisse, ne quis reperiretur qui istius institutum sequi vellet. Solus enim tu inventus es cui non satis fuerit corrigere voluntates vivorum nisi etiam rescinderes mortuorum.
112 Tu ipse ex Siciliensi edicto hoc sustulisti; voluisti, ex improviso si quae res nata esset, ex urbano edicto decernere. Quam postea tu tibi defensionem relin-

[1] in discrimen, *the reading of the Vatican palimpsest, is adopted by Peterson, Mueller, etc.*: in dubium *is the old reading, being that of the other MSS.*: in crimen *is my conjecture.*

[2] *Many editors, following the Vatican palimpsest, read* multi in isdem causis fuerunt.

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[a] Text uncertain here: the true original has possibly the sense "who have been in the same position."

not guard against this action, since it belongs to the same class? Because your wording is not meant to apply to a class, but to an individual: which shows at once that your motives have not been legal, but financial. Had your edict been made to apply to the future only, it would have been less abominable; it would still have been wrong; but in that case, while it might have been censured, it could not have been attacked as criminal, for nobody would have transgressed it. As the matter stands, the character of the clause would show anyone that it was put in to benefit not the community but the reversionary
heir of Publius Annius. That is why, after all the 111
verbiage and the profit-hunting preamble with which you adorned the clause, no subsequent praetor, you will find, has reproduced it in his edict. Not only so, but nobody has even been afraid of this being done. Since your praetorship there are many who have made their wills in the same fashion[a]: among these is a wealthy woman named Annaea, who, not having been registered, with the approval of many of her family made her daughter her heir. Now is not this a really emphatic condemnation of the man's immoral conduct? Gaius Verres devises a regulation of his own, and nobody has been afraid of finding any praetor inclined to carry that regulation on! You, Verres, are indeed the one known case of a man who has not been content with improving the wills of the living, but must also annul
the wills of the dead. You yourself removed the 112
clause from your Sicilian edict, merely expressing your intention to apply the principles of your city edict to meet any unforeseen contingencies. What you meant to be a reserve line of defence in future

quebas, in ea maxime offendisti, cum tuam auctoritatem tute ipse edicto provinciali repudiabas.

XLIV. Atque ego non dubito quin, ut mihi, cui mea filia maxime cordi est, res haec acerba videtur atque indigna, sic uni cuique vestrum, qui simili sensu atque indulgentia filiarum commovemini. Quid enim natura nobis iucundius, quid carius esse voluit? quid est dignius in quo omnis nostra diligentia indul-
113 gentiaque consumatur? Homo importunissime, cur tantam iniuriam P. Annio mortuo fecisti? cur hunc dolorem cineri eius atque ossibus inussisti, ut liberis eius bona patria, voluntate patris, iure, legibus tradita, eriperes et cui tibi esset commodum condonares? Quibuscum vivi bona nostra partimur, iis praetor adimere nobis mortuis bona fortunasque poterit? NEC PETITIONEM, inquit, NEC POSSESSIONEM DABO. Eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam, detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam ingenuitatis? Miramur ad arma contra istum hominem Lampsacenos isse? Miramur istum de provincia decedentem clam Syracusis profugisse? Nos si alienam vicem pro nostra iniuria doleremus, vestigium istius in foro non esset

[a] *i.e.*, the general proviso that the city edict might be applied was intended to enable Verres to apply it where convenient, and it was meant of course to refer to the clause of that edict now in question as well as to the rest: but this, Cicero argues, does not make up for the damaging effect of omitting the clause from the Sicilian edict.

[b] Part of the clause in the *edictum*. The praetor would not allow the woman even to bring an action seeking to establish her claim to the property: nor would he allow her to have, or to remain in, provisional occupation of the property pending its final assignment.

[c] The right of bringing a civil action before the city praetor was a privilege of the citizen; and the *toga praetexta* was the dress of the child of free citizen parents.

has proved your chief stumbling-block[a]: by your own act, in your provincial edict, you denied that any weight was to be attached to your own judgement.

XLIV. Now I have no doubt that, just as this affair causes distress and resentment to me, in whose heart my daughter holds a chief place, so it is with each one of you, who are stirred by a like affection and tenderness for your own daughters: for indeed it is our daughters that nature bids us make the great source of our happiness and object of our devotion, nor can any other thing better deserve to have lavished on it all our care and tenderness.
Cruel savage! why have you done this foul wrong 113
to dead Publius Annius? Why have you tortured his very bones and ashes with the agony of knowing how you tore away from his child the possessions that law and statute and his fatherly wishes would pass on to her, and conveyed them to the man on whom it suited you to bestow them? Shall those with whom we share our good things while we live be robbed by some praetor of goods and happiness when we are dead? "I will not permit," the man tells us, "either legal action or occupation."[b] Will you then pluck the child's fringe from her dress,[c] and pull off the badges of her freedom as well as her fortune? Does it surprise us that the people of Lampsacum drew the sword against a man like this? Or that his departure from his province was a stealthy flight from Syracuse[d]? Did we feel the wrongs of others as we feel our own, no trace of him would
have been suffered to remain in our forum.[e] A father 114

[d] This town was fairly friendly with Verres, who ought to have been able to go away openly from it at least.

[e] *i.e.*, all his judgements would have been annulled.

114 relictum. Pater dat filiae, prohibes: leges sinunt, tamen te interponis. De suis bonis ita dat ut ab iure non abeat; quid habes quod reprehendas? Nihil, opinor. At ego concedo: prohibe, si potes, si habes qui te audiat, si potest tibi dicto audiens esse quisquam. Eripias tu voluntatem mortuis, bona vivis, ius omnibus? Hoc populus Romanus non manu vindicasset, nisi te huic tempori atque huic iudicio reservasset?

Posteaquam ius praetorium constitutum est semper hoc iure usi sumus: si tabulae testamenti non proferrentur, tum, uti quemque potissimum heredem esse oporteret, si is intestato mortuus esset, ita secundum eum possessio daretur. Quare hoc sit aequissimum facile est dicere; sed in re tam usitata satis est ostendere omnes antea ius ita dixisse, et hoc
115 vetus edictum translaticiumque esse. XLV. Cognoscite hominis aliud in re vetere edictum novum, et simul, dum est unde ius civile discatur, adulescentes ei in disciplinam tradite; mirum est hominis ingenium, mira prudentia. Minucius quidam mortuus est ante istum praetorem. Eius testamentum erat nullum; lege hereditas ad gentem Minuciam veniebat. Si habuisset iste edictum, quod ante istum et postea omnes habuerunt, possessio Minuciae genti esset data: si quis testamento se heredem esse arbi-

[a] Each praetor takes it over from his predecessor's edict without question, and incorporates it in his own edict.

[b] There can have been no children or brothers of the deceased.

gives something to his daughter, you prohibit it; the laws allow it, yet you interfere! He makes, out of his own property, a perfectly legal gift: what fault can you find with that? None, as I hold. But I will not stand in your way. Interfere, if you can, if you find anyone to listen to you, if anyone proves capable of obeying your orders. Are you to rob the dead of their power of choice; the living, of their property; living and dead, of their legal rights? Would not the Roman nation have struck you down for this, had it not kept you for this present hour of judgement?

Ever since praetor's law was first set up, we have always had the following provision in force: That if no written will is produced, possession shall be given to that person who would have had the best claim to inherit if the deceased had made no will. The equity of this may easily be shown: but it is enough to point out, in so every-day a matter, that all previous decisions had observed this principle, and that the clause stating it is ancient and is always taken over.[a] XLV. Now let us note another innovation by 115
which Verres' edict replaces the ancient usage: and at the same time let us decide to send the younger generation to him for training in civil law while there is still someone who can teach it to them; his ability and his legal knowledge are both really remarkable. Before he became praetor, a man named Minucius died. No will made by him was forthcoming, and by law the estate would go to the Minucian clan.[b] If Verres' edict had contained what the edicts of all previous and subsequent praetors have contained, possession would have been given to the clan accordingly; and if anyone believed himself to be the real

traretur quod tum non exstaret, lege ageret in hereditatem; aut, pro praede litis vindiciarum cum satis accepisset, sponsionem faceret et ita de hereditate certaret. Hoc, opinor, iure et maiores nostri et nos semper usi sumus. Videte ut hoc iste correxerit.
116 Componit edictum his verbis ut quivis intellegere possit unius hominis causa conscriptum esse, tantum quod hominem non nominat; causam quidem totam perscribit, ius, consuetudinem, aequitatem, edicta omnium neglegit. EX EDICTO URBANO. SI DE HEREDITATE AMBIGITUR . . . SI POSSESSOR SPONSIONEM NON FACIET. Iam quid ad praetorem uter possessor sit? nonne id quaeri oportet, utrum possessorem esse oporteat? Ergo, quia possessor est, non moves possessione; si possessor non esset, non dares? Nusquam enim scribis, neque tu aliud quicquam edicto amplecteris nisi eam causam pro qua pecuniam
117 acceperas. Iam hoc ridiculum est: SI DE HEREDITATE AMBIGETUR, ET TABULAE TESTAMENTI OBSIGNATAE NON MINUS MULTIS SIGNIS QUAM E LEGE OPORTET AD ME PROFERENTUR, SECUNDUM TABULAS TESTAMENTI POTISSIMUM POSSESSIONEM DABO. Hoc translaticium est; sequi illud oportet, SI TABULAE TESTAMENTI NON PROFERENTUR. Quid ait? se ei daturum qui se dicat heredem esse.

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[a] These are two forms of procedure, both obscure to us in some details, by which an action regarding the ownership of property could be instituted. See the excursus in Long's edition, pp. 194-198.

[b] Verres apparently, in this clause, gave the party in possession the right to bar any action against him by another claimant. The method of doing so would be to refuse *sponsionem facere*, "to make a contract," by which each party to a suit agreed to pay up if the decision went against him. Evidently Verres' friend was in possession of Minucius's estate.

heir by the terms of the will not at the time forthcoming, he could sue for it directly, or else take adequate security for the value of the property and the intermediate returns from it and assert his claim to it by the contract process.[a] That is the way in which the law has been worked, if I am right, both in our fathers' days and in our own. Let us see the improvement made by Verres. He composed a 116
clause for his edict so worded that anyone can see how it was framed to meet the case of one particular person. Everything is there but the person's name. He gives the whole case, indeed, in detail: what he neglects is law, usage, equity, and all preceding edicts. *Extract from the city edict. "If the succession to an estate shall be disputed . . . unless the party in possession shall agree to the contract proposed."*[b] Now how can it affect the praetor which of the two parties *is* in possession? Is not the point to be settled which of the two *ought* to be in possession? You do not, then, eject the man in possession, because he is in possession: would you then refuse the same man possession if he were not? That point you nowhere deal with; nor does your edict provide for anything else at all besides the case for which you got paid. Here now is an absurdity. "*If the succession to an* 117
estate shall be disputed, and if there shall be produced before me a written will sealed with the full number of seals[c] *required by law, I will give possession in accordance with the written will.*" So far this is adopted from previous edicts: but now what should follow is "*If a written will shall not be produced . . .*"[d] What does Verres say? That he will give possession to the man

[c] *i.e.*, witnessed by the full number of witnesses.

[d] The clause was evidently completed as in § 114.

Quid ergo interest proferantur necne? si protulerit, uno signo ut sit minus quam ex lege oportet, non des possessionem: si omnino tabulas non proferet, dabis. Quid nunc dicam? neminem umquam hoc postea alium edixisse? Valde sit mirum neminem fuisse qui istius se similem dici vellet. Ipse in Siciliensi edicto hoc non habet; exegerat enim iam mercedem; item ut illo edicto de quo ante dixi, in Sicilia de hereditatum possessionibus dandis edixit idem quod omnes Romae praeter istum. EX EDICTO SICILIENSI. SI DE HEREDITATE AMBIGITUR . . . . .

118 XLVI. At, per deos immortales, quid est quod de hoc dici possit? Iterum enim iam quaero abs te, sicut modo in illo capite Anniano de mulierum hereditatibus, nunc in hoc de hereditatum possessionibus, cur ea capita in edictum provinciale transferre nolueris? Utrum digniores homines existimasti eos qui habitant in provincia quam nos qui aequo iure uteremur, an aliud Romae aequum est, aliud in Sicilia? Non enim hoc potest hoc loco dici, multa esse in provinciis aliter edicenda: non de hereditatum quidem possessionibus, non de mulierum hereditatibus. Nam in utroque genere video non modo ceteros, sed te ipsum, totidem verbis edixisse quot verbis edici Romae solet.

[a] *i.e.*, the wishes of the deceased will not weigh much with Verres in any case.

[b] The reversion (to the traditional clause) in the Sicilian edict.

who *claims* to be heir! What difference then does it make whether the will is produced or not? [a] Should the claimant produce it, you would refuse possession if it was deficient by one seal in the number legally required: and yet will you give possession if the man produces no written will at all? What comment is possible? That no subsequent praetor ever adopted this clause in his edict? It is truly astonishing that no one should have felt inclined to have his character compared to that of Verres. Nor does the clause occur in his own Sicilian edict—of course, he had got his money by then: as in the clause I spoke of just now, so here; his edict in Sicily, so far as concerns giving possession of inheritances, is identical with those of all city praetors—except himself. *Extract from the Sicilian edict. If the succession to an estate is disputed* . . .

XLVI. And what, in heaven's name, can be said in defence of that? [b] I ask you again, Verres, with reference to this clause dealing with giving possession of inheritances, what I asked you just now about the clause dealing (for the benefit of Annius) with the right of women to inherit: I ask why you would not adopt those clauses in your provincial edict. Did you consider that people who live in the provinces deserved fairer treatment than we here? Or is one thing fair in Rome and another in Sicily? It certainly cannot be argued, in this connexion, that a provincial edict must show many changes: that does not, in any case, apply to granting possession of inheritances, nor to the right of women to inherit. For I note, under both heads, that not only all other praetors, but you yourself too, have used word for word the same language in your provincial edicts as 118

Quae Romae magna cum infamia pretio accepto edixeras, ea sola te, ne gratis in provincia male audires, ex edicto Siciliensi sustulisse video.

119 Et cum edictum totum eorum arbitratu, quam diu fuit designatus, componeret qui ab isto ius ad utilitatem suam nundinarentur, tum vero in magistratu contra illud ipsum edictum suum sine ulla religione decernebat. Itaque L. Piso multos codices implevit earum rerum in quibus ita intercessit, quod iste aliter atque ut edixerat decrevisset. Quod vos oblitos esse non arbitror, quae multitudo, qui ordo ad Pisonis sellam isto praetore solitus sit convenire; quem iste collegam nisi habuisset, lapidibus coopertus esset in foro. Sed eo leviores istius iniuriae videbantur quod erat in aequitate prudentiaque Pisonis paratissimum perfugium, quo sine labore, sine molestia, sine impensa, etiam sine patrono homines

120 uterentur. Nam, quaeso, redite in memoriam, iudices, quae libido istius in iure dicendo fuerit, quae varietas decretorum, quae nundinatio, quam inanes domus eorum omnium qui de iure civili consuli solent, quam plena atque referta Chelidonis; a qua muliere cum erat ad eum ventum et in aurem eius insusurratum, alias revocabat eos inter quos iam decreverat,

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[a] One of the other praetors that year. An appeal, on such technical grounds, was possible from the decision of any magistrate to any other not lower in rank.

is regularly used at Rome. It is only the clauses which, to your great disgrace, you were bribed to insert in your edict at Rome—only these, I note, that you removed from your Sicilian edict, in order not to acquire a bad name in your province without being paid for it.

And just as, between his election and his entry 119
upon office, he composed the whole of his edict to suit those who were trafficking in justice with him to serve their own ends, so during the tenure of his office he had no scruple about giving decisions that contradicted the edict itself. The result was that Lucius Piso [a] filled a pile of note-books with records of the cases in which he vetoed decisions by Verres as inconsistent with Verres' own edict. I imagine you have not forgotten this—what a streaming crowd of people would regularly gather round Piso's judgement-seat during Verres' year of office. But for his having Piso for a colleague, Verres would have been buried in the Forum under a shower of stones. As it was, the wrongs he did appeared more tolerable because people found, in the equitable character and legal knowledge of Piso, an always available refuge, of which they could make use without trouble or unpleasantness or expense or even an advocate's help.
Pray recall to your memories, gentlemen, the wanton 120
character of Verres' administration of the law, the lack of uniformity in his decisions, the trafficking that went on; how empty were the houses of all the experts in civil law whom it is the practice to consult, how densely crowded was the house of Chelidon. As often as that woman came up to him and whispered in his ear, he would call back the parties to a case that he had already judged, and alter his judgement;

decretumque mutabat, alias inter aliquos contrarium sine ulla religione decernebat ac proximis paulo ante
121 decreverat. Hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore; quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse ius tam nequam esse verrinum: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur ridiculi videbantur esse, cum Sacerdotem exsecrabantur qui verrem tam nequam reliquisset. Quae ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacete dicta neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos illud vellem recordari, istius nequitiam et iniquitatem tum in ore vulgi atque in communibus proverbiis esse versatam.

122 XLVII. In plebem vero Romanam utrum superbiam prius commemorem an crudelitatem? Sine dubio crudelitas gravior est atque atrocior. Oblitosne igitur hos putatis esse quem ad modum sit iste solitus virgis plebem Romanam concidere? Quam rem etiam tribunus plebis in contione egit, cum eum quem iste virgis ceciderat in prospectum populi Romani produxit. Cuius rei recognoscendae faciam vobis suo
123 tempore potestatem. Superbia vero quae fuerit quis ignorat? quem ad modum is tenuissimum quemque contempserit, despexerit, liberum esse numquam duxerit? P. Trebonius viros bonos et honestos complures fecit heredes; in iis fecit suum libertum. Is

[a] *Ius Verrinum*, "Verres' administration of the law": *ius verrinum*, "pork gravy."

[b] Verres' predecessor, "Mr. Priest," who ought to have sacrificed this particular animal.

at other times he would, without the least scruple, deliver in one case a judgement directly opposed to that which he had delivered in the previous case a few minutes before. Hence those people whose in- 121
dignation went so far as to make them humorists: some of these made the remark you have often heard repeated, that *ius verrinum* [a] was of course poor stuff: others were still sillier, only that their irritation passed them off as good jesters, when they cursed Sacerdos [b] for leaving such a miserable hog behind him. I should not recall these jokes, which are not particularly witty, nor, moreover, in keeping with the serious dignity of this Court, were it not that I would have you remember how Verres' offences against morality and justice became at the time the subject of common talk and popular catchwords.

XLVII. As to his behaviour towards ordinary 122
people in Rome, should I speak first of its snobbery or its cruelty? Cruelty is admittedly the more terrible and savage quality. Well then, do you think, gentlemen, that this audience has forgotten Verres' way of having ordinary Roman folk flogged till the blood ran? The thing was brought before a public meeting by a tribune of the plebs, who then produced before the eyes of the Roman people a man whom Verres had had flogged. This subject I mean to give you an opportunity of considering in its proper place.[c] His snobbery is doubtless already 123
familiar to you all, the contemptuous way in which he looked down upon any poor man and treated him as no better than a slave. Publius Trebonius bequeathed his property to several honest and respectable persons, one of whom was his own freedman.

[c] Verres' cruelty in Sicily is the subject of Book V.

A. Trebonium fratrem habuerat proscriptum. Ei cum cautum vellet, scripsit ut heredes iurarent se curaturos ut ex sua cuiusque parte ne minus dimidium ad A. Trebonium fratrem illum proscriptum perveniret. Libertus iurat; ceteri heredes adeunt ad Verrem, docent non oportere se iurare facturos esse quod contra legem Corneliam esset, quae proscriptum iuvari vetaret. Impetrant ut ne iurent; dat his possessionem. Id ego non reprehendo; etenim erat iniquum homini proscripto egenti de fraternis bonis quicquam dari. Libertus, nisi ex testamento patroni
124 iurasset, scelus se facturum arbitrabatur; itaque ei Verres possessionem hereditatis negat se daturum, ne posset patronum suum proscriptum iuvare, simul ut esset poena quod alterius patroni testamento obtemperasset. Das possessionem ei qui non iuravit; concedo; praetorium est. Adimis tu ei, qui iuravit; quo exemplo? Proscriptum iuvat; lex est, poena est. Quid ad eum qui ius dicit? Utrum reprehendis quod patronum iuvabat eum qui tum in miseriis erat, an quod alterius patroni mortui voluntatem conservabat, a quo summum beneficium acceperat? Utrum horum reprehendis? Et hoc

His brother Aulus Trebonius was among the outlawed; and wishing to provide for him, he stipulated in his will that his heirs should swear to see to it that at least half of their respective shares came to the outlawed Aulus. The freedman did swear this; but the other heirs approached Verres, and pointed out that they ought not to swear to perform an action that would violate the Cornelian law forbidding the assistance of outlawed persons. Their request to be exempted from taking the oath was granted; and Verres gave them possession—an action that I will not condemn, for it would indeed have been unfair that an outlawed man in distress should have anything out of his brother's estate given to him. The freedman had felt that he would be guilty of a crime if he failed to swear as his old master's will required;
and because he did, Verres refused to give him possession of his inheritance, that he might not be able to help his old master who was outlawed, and at the same time might be liable to punishment for following the instructions in his other old master's will. Well, Verres, you give possession to a man who has *not* sworn the oath; I raise no objection; a praetor has the right to do that. But you take that right away from a man who *has* sworn it; what precedent have you for that? Suppose he does help the outlawed man—there is the law and its penalty. What difference does it make to the praetor's decision? Do you condemn the freedman for being willing to help his old master then in sore need? Or for choosing to carry out the dying wishes of his other old master to whom he owed everything? Which of these two offences do you condemn? Yes, and on that occasion this perfect gentleman, sitting 124

tum de sella vir optimus dixit: "Equiti Romano tam locupleti libertinus sit homo heres?" O modestum ordinem, quod illinc vivus surrexit!

125 Possum sescenta decreta proferre in quibus, ut ego non dicam, pecuniam intercessisse ipsa decretorum novitas iniquitasque declarat. Verum ut ex uno de ceteris coniecturam facere possitis, id quod priore actione cognostis audite. C. Sulpicius Olympus fuit; XLVIII. is mortuus est C. Sacerdote praetore, nescio an ante quam Verres praeturam petere coeperit. Fecit heredem M. Octavium Ligurem; Ligus hereditatem adiit; possedit Sacerdote praetore sine ulla controversia. Posteaquam Verres magistratum iniit, ex edicto istius, quod edictum Sacerdos non habuerat, Sulpicii patroni filia sextam partem hereditatis ab Ligure petere coepit. Ligus non aderat. L. frater eius causam agebat: aderant amici, propinqui. Dicebat iste, nisi cum muliere decideretur, in possessionem se ire iussurum. L. Gellius causam Liguris defendebat: docebat edictum eius non oportere in eas hereditates valere quae ante eum praetorem venissent; si hoc tum fuisset edictum, fortasse Ligurem hereditatem aditurum non fuisse. Aequa postulatio, summa hominum auctoritas, pretio supe-
126 rabatur. Venit Romam Ligus; non dubitabat quin,

in his chair of office, observed, "A freedman the heir of a knight with a fortune like that!" What self-restraint the freedman class showed in letting him leave his chair alive!

I could produce hundreds of his decisions whose 125
disregard for precedent and equity makes it plain, without any comment from me, that money has had a hand in them. But I will only ask you to listen to a single one of them, which was put before you at the first hearing: from it you may guess what the rest must be. XLVIII. There was a man called Gaius Sulpicius Olympus, who died during the praetorship of Gaius Sacerdos, I rather think before Verres began canvassing for the praetorship. He left his property to Marcus Octavius Ligus; Ligus claimed the estate, and enjoyed undisputed possession of it so long as Sacerdos remained praetor. After Verres had entered upon office, in accordance with a clause in his edict that had not appeared in the edict of Sacerdos, the daughter of the Sulpicius whose freedman Sulpicius Olympus had been proceeded to claim from Ligus one-sixth of the estate. Ligus not being in Rome, his brother Lucius appeared for him, supported by his friends and relatives. Verres announced that unless they came to some arrangement with the lady, he would make an order for her to take possession. Lucius Gellius, who was supporting Ligus, argued that Verres' edict could not be held to apply to any estate inherited before the date of his praetorship, and that had the present regulation been in force then, Ligus might not have chosen to claim the estate. The equity of this plea and the respect due to those who urged it were no
match for money. Ligus arrived in Rome. He felt 126

si ipse Verrem convenisset, aequitate causae, auctoritate sua, commovere hominem posset. Domum ad eum venit, rem demonstrat, quam pridem sibi hereditas venisset docet; quod facile homini ingenioso in causa aequissima fuit, multa quae quemvis commovere possent dixit; ad extremum petere coepit ne usque eo suam auctoritatem despiceret gratiamque contemneret ut se tanta iniuria afficeret. Homo Ligurem accusare coepit, qui in re adventicia atque hereditaria tam diligens, tam attentus esset; debere eum aiebat suam quoque rationem ducere; multa sibi opus esse, multa canibus suis quos circa se haberet. Non possum illa planius commemorare quam ipsum Ligurem pro testimonio dicere audistis.
127 Quid est, Verres? utrum ne his quidem testibus credetur, an haec ad rem non pertinent? non credemus M. Octavio? non L. Liguri? quis nobis credet, cui nos? quid est quod planum fieri testibus possit, si hoc non fit? An id quod dicunt leve est? Nihil levius quam praetorem urbanum hoc iuris in suo magistratu constituere, omnibus quibus hereditas venerit coheredem praetorem esse oportere. An vero dubitamus quo ore iste ceteros homines inferiores loco, auctoritate, ordine, quo ore homines rusticanos ex municipiis, quo denique ore, quos numquam liberos putavit, libertinos homines solitus sit appellare, qui

sure that, if he himself had an interview with Verres, the justice of his case and his personal influence would have an effect on the man. Calling on him at his house, he went into the facts, pointing out the length of time the estate had now been his; with the readiness of an intelligent man pleading a thoroughly just cause, he used a number of arguments that might have told with anyone; and finally proceeded to urge him not to think so little of his importance, or care so little for his goodwill, as to do him so grave an injustice. The fellow began at this to abuse Ligus for straining and exciting himself so much about a property that had only come to him by the chance of inheritance: Ligus ought to consider Verres' point of view as well as his own: Verres' own needs were considerable, and also those of the hounds he kept about him. I cannot tell the story more clearly than you have heard Ligus himself giving it in his evidence. What have you to say 127
then, Verres? Shall even these witnesses not be believed, or is their evidence irrelevant? Shall we not believe Marcus Octavius Ligus? or Lucius Ligus? Who then will believe *us*, or whom shall we believe? What *can* evidence prove, if it cannot prove this? Or is what they say no great matter? It is no less a matter than the claim set up by a city praetor, in the discharge of his office, that the praetor shall be co-inheritor with everyone who inherits an estate. Can we fail to picture the brazen way in which he would present his demands to all those other persons of lower station, rank, and importance, to those simple folk up from country towns, or to those freedmen whose freedom he never would recognize, when we

ob ius dicundum M. Octavium Ligurem, hominem ornatissimum loco, ordine, nomine, virtute, ingenio, copiis, poscere pecuniam non dubitavit?

128 XLIX. In sartis tectis vero quem ad modum se gesserit quid ego dicam? Dixerunt qui senserunt; sunt alii qui dicant; notae res ac manifestae prolatae sunt et proferentur. Dixit Cn. Fannius, eques Romanus, frater germanus Q. Titinii, iudicis tui, tibi se pecuniam dedisse. Recita. TESTIMONIUM CN. FANNII. Nolite Cn. Fannio dicenti credere, noli, inquam, tu, Q. Titini, Cn. Fannio, fratri tuo, credere; dicit enim rem incredibilem; C. Verrem insimulat avaritiae et audaciae, quae vitia videntur in quemvis potius quam in istum convenire. Dixit Q. Tadius, homo familiarissimus patris istius, non alienus a matris eius genere et nomine; tabulas protulit quibus pecuniam se dedisse ostendit. Recita. NOMINA Q. TADII. Recita. TESTIMONIUM Q. TADII. Ne Tadii quidem tabulis nec testimonio credemus? Quid igitur in iudiciis sequemur? Quid est aliud omnibus omnia peccata et maleficia concedere nisi hoc, hominum honestissimorum testimoniis et virorum bonorum tabulis non credere?

129 Nam quid ego de cotidiano sermone querimonia-

[a] The difference of family name between the two brothers is no doubt due to the adoption of one of them into another family.

hear that, from a man so distinguished as Marcus Octavius Ligus in position and rank and name, in character and ability and fortune, he did not hesitate to demand a bribe in return for his decision in court?

XLIX. His conduct in dealing with the maintenance of public buildings I need hardly describe. 128 Some of his victims have already described it, and there are others who can. Facts, notorious and convincing, have been produced, and more shall follow. The knight Gnaeus Fannius, own brother of the Quintus Titinius[a] who is one of your judges, has testified to his having paid you money. Read the evidence. *Evidence of Gnaeus Fannius.* Gentlemen, do not believe what Fannius says: Quintus Titinius, do not, I repeat, believe what Gnaeus Fannius your own brother says. For he says what is unbelievable; he is attempting to charge Gaius Verres with unscrupulous greed for money—a charge that we feel is appropriate to anyone else rather than to him. We have heard Quintus Tadius, an intimate friend of Verres' father, and not unconnected, by birth and name, with Verres' mother: Tadius has produced his own accounts, showing that he has paid money to Verres. Read these. *Accounts of Quintus Tadius.* And this. *Evidence of Quintus Tadius.* Are we not to trust the accounts, or the evidence, even of Tadius? What, then, do we mean to go upon in trying a case? If we should set everyone free to commit every kind of offence and injury, how otherwise should we do it than by refusing to accept the evidence given by respectable persons, and the accounts kept by honourable gentlemen?

And now how shall I deal with a thing that was 129 day after day the subject of indignant discussion

que populi Romani loquar, de istius impudentissimo furto, seu potius novo ac singulari latrocinio? Ausum esse in aede Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento, quod templum in oculis cotidianoque aspectu populi Romani positum est, quo saepe numero senatus convocatur, quo maximarum rerum frequentissimae cotidie advocationes fiunt—in eo loco in sermone hominum audaciae suae monumentum aeternum relinquere?

130 L. Aedem Castoris, iudices, P. Iunius habuit tuendam de L. Sulla, Q. Metello consulibus. Is mortuus est; reliquit pupillum parvum filium. Cum L. Octavius C. Aurelius consules aedes sacras locavissent neque potuissent omnia sarta tecta exigere, neque ii praetores quibus erat negotium datum, C. Sacerdos et M. Caesius, factum est senatus consultum, quibus de sartis tectis cognitum et iudicatum non esset, uti C. Verres P. Caelius praetores cognoscerent et iudicarent. Qua potestate iste permissa sic abusus est[1] ut ex Cn. Fannio et ex Q. Tadio cognovistis, verum tamen cum esset omnibus in rebus apertissime impudentissimeque praedatus, hoc voluit clarissimum relinquere indicium latrociniorum suorum, de quo non audire aliquando sed videre cotidie possemus.
131 Quaesivit quis aedem Castoris sartam tectam deberet tradere. Iunium ipsum mortuum esse sciebat; scire

[1] *The words* sic abusus est *are Peterson's certain addition, being found in two MSS.*

[a] 80 B.C. [b] 75 B.C.

throughout Rome—that impudent theft of his, or rather, that unheard of and extraordinary act of open robbery? To think of the temple of Castor, that famous and glorious memorial of the past, that sanctuary which stands where the eyes of the nation may rest upon it every day, in which the Senate not seldom meets, and which is daily thronged with those who come to take counsel upon matters of high import: and then to think that there Verres has a memorial of his criminal audacity graven for ever upon the lips of men!

L. From the consulship of Lucius Sulla and Quintus 130
Metellus,[a] gentlemen, the contractor for the upkeep of the temple of Castor had been one Publius Iunius. He died, leaving a young son, not yet of age. Lucius Octavius and Gaius Aurelius during their consulship[b] had made contracts for temple maintenance, the execution of which they had not had time, in all cases, to certify, nor had the two praetors, Gaius Sacerdos and Marcus Caesius, to whom this duty had been assigned. The Senate therefore decreed that Gaius Verres and Publius Caelius, the new praetors, should examine and pronounce upon those contracts not already dealt with. How Verres misused the powers thus entrusted to him you have already learnt from Gnaeus Fannius and Quintus Tadius. But open and unashamed as all his depredations were, he chose to leave us an especially striking demonstration of his methods of robbery; something that we might not hear of now and then, but daily see for ourselves. He inquired who was re- 131
sponsible for handing over the temple of Castor in good repair; Iunius himself he knew was dead, and he wanted to know on whom the duty now devolved.

volebat ad quem illa res pertineret. Audit pupillum esse filium. Homo, qui semper ita palam dictitasset, pupillos et pupillas certissimam praedam esse praetoribus, optatum negotium sibi in sinum delatum esse dicebat. Monumentum illa amplitudine, illo opere, quamvis sartum tectum integrumque esset, tamen aliquid se inventurum in quo moliri praedarique
132 posset arbitrabatur. L. Habonio[1] aedem Castoris tradi oportebat: is casu pupilli Iunii tutor erat testamento patris; cum eo sine ullo intertrimento convenerat iam quem ad modum traderetur. Iste ad se Habonium vocat; quaerit ecquid sit quod a pupillo traditum non sit, quod exigi debeat. Cum ille, id quod erat, diceret facilem pupillo traditionem esse; signa et dona comparere omnia; ipsum templum omni opere esse integrum: indignum isti videri coepit ex tanta aede tantoque opere se non opimum praeda,
133 praesertim a pupillo, discedere. LI. Venit ipse in aedem Castoris, considerat templum; videt undique tectum pulcherrime laqueatum, praeterea cetera nova atque integra. Versat se; quaerit quid agat. Dicit ei quidam ex illis canibus quos iste Liguri dixerat esse circa se multos, "Tu, Verres, hic quod moliare nihil habes, nisi forte vis ad perpendiculum columnas exigere." Homo omnium rerum imperitus quaerit quid sit "ad perpendiculum"; dicunt ei fere nullam esse columnam quae ad perpendiculum esse possit.

[1] *There is fair* MS. *support for* Rabonius *as the true form of the name.*

[a] By the boy's other guardians.
[b] See § 126.

He was told that it was the son, who was still a minor. He had always been in the habit of saying openly that minors, male or female, were a praetor's safest prey; and here, he told himself, was a most desirable piece of business put straight into his hands. In so large and elaborate a building, even were it in sound and good repair, he calculated on finding some means of working a profitable job for
himself. The temple contract was to be transferred 132
to Lucius Habonius: this man, as it happened, was by the will of Iunius made one of the boy's guardians, and with him a quite comfortable settlement had been reached[a] about the details of the transfer. Verres told Habonius to come and see him, and asked him whether his ward had failed in any detail of the transfer that he should be required to make good. Habonius replied, what was true, that his ward was having no trouble about the transfer; that no statues or offerings were missing; and that the building itself was in sound condition throughout. Verres began to feel that it would be a shame to abandon a great elaborate building like that without lining his own
pockets richly—at a minor's expense, too. LI. He 133
went himself into the temple of Castor, and surveyed the sacred edifice: he saw the whole roof beautifully panelled, and everything else in fresh and sound condition. He turned round, and asked what he had better do. Then one of the hounds, of whom he told Ligus[b] he kept a large pack round him, observed, "Look you, Verres, there is no job you can work here, unless perhaps you would like to demand that the pillars be made exactly plumb." The hopeless ignoramus inquired what "plumb" signified: and they told him that practically no pillar could possibly

"Nam mehercule," inquit, "sic agamus; columnae
134 ad perpendiculum exigantur." Habonius, qui legem nosset, qua in lege numerus tantum columnarum traditur, perpendiculi mentio fit nulla, et qui non putaret sibi expedire ita accipere, ne eodem modo tradendum esset, negat id sibi deberi, negat oportere exigi. Iste Habonium quiescere iubet, et simul ei nonnullam spem societatis ostendit; hominem modestum et minime pertinacem facile coercet; columnas ita se exacturum esse confirmat.

135 Nova res atque improvisa pupilli calamitas nuntiatur statim C. Mustio, vitrico pupilli, qui nuper est mortuus, M. Iunio patruo, P. Titio tutori, homini frugalissimo. Hi rem ad virum primarium, summo officio ac virtute praeditum, M. Marcellum, qui erat pupilli tutor, deferunt. Venit ad Verrem M. Marcellus; petit ab eo pro sua fide ac diligentia pluribus verbis ne per summam iniuriam pupillum Iunium fortunis patriis conetur evertere. Iste, qui iam spe atque opinione praedam illam devorasset, neque ulla aequitate orationis neque auctoritate M. Marcelli commotus est; itaque quem ad modum

be exactly plumb. "Why, damn it all," says Verres, "let's do that; let us demand that the pillars be made exactly plumb." Habonius was familiar with 134
the wording of the contract, which merely gave an inventory of the number of pillars and said nothing about their being plumb; and also he reckoned that it would not pay him to take over the contract on those conditions, since he might have to hand over to his successor on the same conditions later on. He therefore maintained that he had no right to claim this, and that it ought not to be required. Verres told Habonius to hold his tongue, at the same time hinting that he would have some chance of sharing in the profits. He had no trouble in suppressing this unassuming and easy-going person, and stated definitely that he would make the requirement about the pillars as mentioned.

This new and, for young Iunius, unexpectedly 135
disastrous development was promptly reported to the boy's stepfather Gaius Mustius (recently deceased), to his uncle Marcus Iunius, and to another of his guardians, an honest man named Publius Titius. These three carried the matter to that eminent and most trustworthy and excellent man Marcus Marcellus, himself one of the guardians. Marcellus went to see Verres, and, like the honourable and conscientious man he was, urged Verres at considerable length not to think of so gross an injustice as to turn a boy like Iunius out of the property his father had left him. Verres, who already had in anticipation a vision of himself devouring his prey, was untouched either by the fairness of the plea or by the importance of the pleader, and answered accordingly that he would insist on the thing being

136 ostendisset se id exacturum esse respondit. Cum sibi omnes ad istum allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos ac potius interclusos viderent, apud quem non ius, non aequitas, non misericordia, non propinqui oratio, non amici voluntas, non cuiusquam auctoritas, non gratia valeret, statuunt id sibi esse optimum factu quod cuivis venisset in mentem, petere auxilium a Chelidone, quae isto praetore non modo in iure civili privatorumque omnium controversiis populo Romano praefuit, verum etiam in his sartis tectisque dominata est

137 LII. Venit ad Chelidonem C. Mustius, eques Romanus, publicanus, homo cum primis honestus; venit M. Iunius, patruus pueri, frugalissimus homo et castissimus: venit homo summo pudore, summo officio, spectatissimus ordinis sui, P. Titius tutor. O multis acerbam, o miseram atque indignam praeturam tuam! Ut mittam cetera, quo tandem pudore tales viros, quo dolore, meretricis domum venisse arbitramini? qui numquam ulla condicione istam turpitudinem subissent, nisi officii necessitudinisque ratio coegisset. Veniunt, ut dico, ad Chelidonem. Domus erat plena; nova iura, nova decreta, nova iudicia petebantur: "mihi det possessionem, mihi ne adimat, in me iudicium ne det, mihi bona addicat." Alii nummos numerabant, ab aliis tabellae obsigna-

done as he had indicated. The guardians, perceiving 136 the difficulty of making any appeals to him, and finding every pathway of approach steep, not to say completely blocked, since he was a man with whom neither law nor equity nor compassion, neither the arguments of a relative nor the wishes of a friend nor anyone's influence or goodwill, counted for anything at all—the guardians decided that their best course (and the idea would have occurred to anyone) was to ask the help of Chelidon, the woman who, so long as Verres was praetor, not only controlled the civil law and all the private controversies of the nation, but also lorded it in all these matters of maintenance contracts.

LII. Yes, they went to see Chelidon: Gaius 137 Mustius, knight and collector of revenue, as honourable a man as lives; the boy's uncle, the honest and upright Marcus Iunius; and his guardian Publius Titius, respectable and conscientious, than whom no man of his rank is esteemed more highly. Ah, Verres, how many there are to whom your praetorship has brought pain and misery and shame! To speak of nothing else, I bid you think simply of the feelings of shame and disgust with which such men must have entered the dwelling of a harlot. For no consideration would they have brought themselves to stoop so low, had not regard for duty and friendship compelled them. They went, as I have said, to see Chelidon. Her house was full: decisions, judgements, methods of procedure—none ever heard of before—were being applied for: "make him give me possession," "don't let him take it from me," "don't let him pronounce against me," "get him to award me the property." Some were paying her cash, others were signing

bantur: domus erat non meretricio conventu sed
138 praetoria turba referta. Simul ac potestas primum data est, adeunt hi quos dixi. Loquitur C. Mustius, rem demonstrat, petit auxilium, pecuniam pollicetur. Respondit illa, ut meretrix, non inhumaniter: libenter ait se esse facturam, et se cum isto diligenter sermocinaturam; reverti iubet. Tum discedunt; postridie revertuntur; negat illa posse hominem exorari; permagnam eum dicere ex illa re pecuniam confici posse.

LIII. Vereor ne quis forte de populo, qui priori actione non adfuit, haec, quia propter insignem turpitudinem sunt incredibilia, fingi a me arbitretur.
139 Ea vos antea, iudices, cognovistis. Dixit iuratus P. Titius, tutor pupilli Iunii; dixit M. Iunius tutor et patruus: Mustius dixisset, si viveret, sed recenti re de Mustio auditum est; dixit L. Domitius, qui cum sciret me ex Mustio vivo audisse, quod eo sum usus plurimum (etenim iudicium, quod prope omnium fortunarum suarum C. Mustius habuit, me uno defendente vicit), cum hoc, ut dico, sciret L. Domitius, me scire ad eum res omnes Mustium solitum esse deferre, tamen de Chelidone reticuit quoad potuit, alio responsionem suam derivavit. Tantus in adulescente clarissimo ac principe iuventutis pudor fuit ut aliquam diu, cum a me premeretur, omnia potius

[a] When being cross-examined as a witness by Cicero.

promissory notes: the house was filled, not with a courtesan's visitors, but with the crowd that attends a praetor's court. As soon as they were allowed, the 138
gentlemen I have named approached the woman. The speaker was Gaius Mustius; he explained the facts, asked for help, and promised her money. Her reply, for a woman of that type, was not ill-natured: she would gladly do her best, and would be sure to talk to him about it—let them return later. They left her, and returned the next day; she then told them that the man was inexorable, and that he said there was a really big sum of money to be made out of this business.

LIII. I am afraid that some of our audience who were not present at the first hearing may suppose that this story is my own invention, its exceptional ugliness makes it so incredible. You, gentlemen, have 139
heard it all before. It has been told on oath by Publius Titius, guardian of young Iunius. It has been told by his guardian and uncle Marcus Iunius. It would have been told by Mustius, if he were still alive, and it has been heard recently from his lips. It has been told by Lucius Domitius, who, though he knew I had heard it from Mustius before the latter's death, since I was very familiar with him—the fact is that Mustius, with my sole support, won a case in which nearly the whole of his fortune was involved—though, as I was saying, Domitius knew this, and that I knew Mustius to have been in the habit of reporting everything to him, none the less he held his tongue about Chelidon as long as he could, and made an evasive answer to my question.[a] There was so much modesty in this young noble of high rank and reputation, that for some time, press him as I might, he made any answer

responderet quam Chelidonem nominaret; primo necessarios istius ad eum allegatos esse dicebat, deinde aliquando coactus Chelidonem nominavit.
140 Non te pudet, Verres, eius mulieris arbitratu gessisse praeturam quam L. Domitius ab se nominari vix sibi honestum esse arbitrabatur?

LIV. Reiecti a Chelidone capiunt consilium necessarium, ut suscipiant ipsi negotium. Cum Habonio tutore, quod erat vix HS quadraginta milium, transigunt HS ducentis milibus. Defert ad istum rem Habonius: ut sibi videatur, satis grandem pecuniam et satis impudentem esse. Iste, qui aliquanto plus cogitasset, male accipit verbis Habonium, negat eum sibi illa decisione satisfacere posse; ne multa, loca-
141 turum se esse confirmat. Tutores hoc nesciunt; quod actum erat cum Habonio, putant id esse certissimum; nullam maiorem pupillo metuunt calamitatem. Iste vero non procrastinat; locare incipit, non proscripta neque edicta die, alienissimo tempore, ludis ipsis Romanis, foro ornato. Itaque renuntiat Habonius illam decisionem tutoribus. Accurrunt tamen ad tempus tutores; digitum tollit Iunius patruus. Isti color immutatus est; vultus, oratio, mens denique excidit. Quid ageret coepit cogitare. Si opus pupillo redimeretur, si res abiret ab eo

[a] Of making the pillars plumb, or paying for its being done.
[b] For the work of restoring the pillars.

rather than mention Chelidon's name, asserting to begin with that the friends of Iunius had been sent to see Verres, and only uttering Chelidon's name finally when he could no longer help it. Do you feel no 140
shame, Verres, that your conduct as praetor has been wholly governed by a woman whose very name Domitius feels it hardly decent for him to mention?

LIV. Rejected by Chelidon, they could do nothing but resolve to undertake the obligation[a] themselves. They agreed with the guardian Habonius to pay £2000 for an operation whose real cost was barely £400. Habonius reported this to Verres, observing that in his opinion this was a fairly large and shameless sum. Verres, who had had a good deal more than that in his mind, made some unpleasant remarks to Habonius, and told him that he could not possibly accept an arrangement like that; and not to make a long story of it, he declared that he was going to call for tenders.[b] The guardians knew nothing of this; 141
they imagined that their arrangement with Habonius had quite settled the matter, and had no fear that anything still worse might befall their ward. Verres wasted no time; he proceeded with the tenders without any previous advertisement or announcement of the day for tendering, at a most unsuitable time, right in the middle of the Roman Games, with the Forum all decorated. Habonius accordingly cancelled the agreement with the other guardians. They hastened to the spot, nevertheless, at the day fixed; and Iunius, the uncle, made his bid. Verres turned pale: his looks, his voice, his very power of thought failed him. He began to wonder what to do. If the ward were to secure the contract, and it thus escaped the person whom he had himself put up

mancipe quem ipse apposuisset, sibi nullam praedam esse. Itaque excogitat—quid? nihil ingeniose, nihil ut quisquam possit dicere "improbe, verum callide." Nihil ab isto vafrum, nihil veteratorium exspectaveritis; omnia aperta, omnia perspicua
142 reperientur, impudentia, amentia, audacia. "Si pupillo opus redimitur, mihi praeda de manibus eripitur. Quod est igitur remedium? quod? ne liceat pupillo redimere." Ubi illa consuetudo in bonis praedibus praediisque vendundis omnium consulum, censorum, praetorum, quaestorum denique, ut optima condicione sit is cuia res sit, cuium periculum? Excludit eum solum cui prope dicam soli potestatem factam esse oportebat. Quid enim? quisquam ad meam pecuniam me invito aspirat, quisquam accedit? Locatur opus id quod ex mea pecunia reficiatur; ego me refecturum dico; probatio futura est tua qui locas; praedibus et praediis populo cautum est; et, si non putas cautum, scilicet tu praetor in mea bona quos voles immittes, me ad meas fortunas defendendas accedere non sines?

143 LV. Operae pretium est legem ipsam cognoscere; dicetis eundem conscripsisse qui illud edictum de hereditate. LEX OPERI FACIUNDO. QUAE PUPILLI IUNII . . .

[a] Enforced sale by the State is meant. The law would require purchasers to offer security for their ultimate payment of the purchase-money.

[b] By the purchaser of the contract, for his power to carry it out.

to secure it, there was no plunder for him to get. He arrived at a plan: and what was it? Oh, nothing ingenious; nothing that anyone could describe as "Dishonest, yes, but clever." You are to look for no artful dodge, nothing of the wily old bird, from Verres. You will find everything quite plain and obvious, nothing but stupid reckless impudence.
"If the ward secures the contract, my prey is 142
snatched from my grasp. How do we stop that, then? How? why, let us prohibit the ward from bidding for it." What now becomes of the practice, observed universally by consuls, censors, praetors, and even quaestors, in selling property upon personal and landed security[a]—the practice of allowing most favoured treatment to the owner of the property, who stands to lose by its sale? Verres here excludes from the right of bidding that person alone to whom alone, one might almost say, the right should be allowed. Why, what does this mean? Can anyone be hoping, or trying, to lay hands in spite of me upon my own money? Here is a contract to be made for doing a repair for which I shall have to pay; and I undertake myself to do it. You, who let out the contract, can see that the work is done properly: personal and real security is given[b] to the state: and even if you think the security insufficient, does that mean that you, as praetor, may give anyone you please leave to plunder my property, without allowing me to make a move to protect my own pocket?

LV. It is worth your while, gentlemen, to note 143
the text of the contract: you will recognize the author of that clause in the edict relating to inheritance. *Text of the Contract.* "*In the matter of the ward Iunius. . . .*" (Kindly read it more dis-

Dic, dic, quaeso, clarius. C. VERRES PRAETOR URBANUS ADDIDIT. Corriguntur leges censoriae. Quid enim? Video in multis veteribus legibus, CN. DOMITIUS L. METELLUS CENSORES ADDIDERUNT, L. CASSIUS CN. SERVILIUS CENSORES ADDIDERUNT; vult aliquid eius modi C. Verres. Dic, quid addidit? recita. QUI DE L. MARCIO M. PERPERNA CENSORIBUS . . . . SOCIUM NE ADMITTITO, NEVE PARTEM DATO, NEVE REDIMITO. Quid ita? Ne vitiosum opus fieret? at erat probatio tua. Ne parum locuples esset? at erat, et esset amplius si
144 velles, populo cautum praedibus et praediis. Hic te si res ipsa, si indignitas iniuriae tuae non commovebat, si pupilli calamitas, si propinquorum lacrimae, si D. Bruti, cuius praedia suberant, periculum, si M. Marcelli tutoris auctoritas apud te ponderis nihil habebat, ne illud quidem animadvertebas, eius modi fore hoc peccatum tuum quod tu neque negare posses (in tabulas enim legem rettulisti) neque cum defensione aliqua confiteri? Addicitur opus HS DLX. milibus, cum tutores HS XL. milibus id opus ad illius iniquissimi hominis arbitrium se effecturos esse clamarent.
145 Etenim quid erat operis? Id quod vos vidistis. Omnes

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[a] It can only be conjectured that the complete clause added by Verres prohibited in general terms the exact action now taken by the guardians of Iunius.

tinctly.) "*Gaius Verres, city praetor, has further provided. . . .*" Improvements on the censors' forms of contract! Oh well, in a number of old contracts we find that sort of thing: "The censors Gnaeus Domitius and Lucius Metellus have further provided," "the censors Lucius Cassius and Gnaeus Servilius have further provided." Gaius Verres is after something of the same kind. Tell us then, what *is* this further provision: read it out. "*Any person who from the censors Lucius Marcius and Marcus Perperna*[a] *. . . must not take him as partner nor allow him to share in the undertaking nor himself secure the contract.*" Why this arrangement? To prevent the work's being badly done? Well, you have the power of seeing to that. To ensure the contractor's having the necessary capital? Well, but security, personal and real, had been offered to the state, and more still would have been offered if you had required
it. Here let me ask this. Even if the actual facts, 144
the shamefulness of the wrong you were doing, left you unmoved; if the ruin of that boy, and the tears of his kinsmen, and the risk to Decimus Brutus whose land was involved, and the personal authority of the boy's guardian Marcus Marcellus—if all this counted for nothing with you: yet did it not even occur to you that this piece of your misconduct was of a kind that you would be able neither to deny (having entered the contract in your books) nor, admitting it, to justify in any sort of way? The contract was let for £5600, though the guardians declared loudly that for £400 they were prepared to carry out the work
so as to satisfy even that tyrannical rascal. How 145
much, after all, was there to do? Exactly what you yourselves, gentlemen, saw done. A scaffold was

illae columnae, quas dealbatas videtis, machina apposita, nulla impensa deiectae iisdemque lapidibus repositae sunt. Hoc tu HS DLX. milibus locavisti. Atque in illis columnis dico esse quae a tuo redemptore commotae non sint; dico esse ex qua tantum tectorium vetus deiectum sit et novum inductum. Quod si tanta pecunia columnas dealbari putassem, certe numquam aedilitatem petivissem.

146 LVI. At ut videatur tamen res agi et non eripi pupillo: SI QUID OPERIS CAUSA RESCIDERIS, REFICITO. Quid erat quod rescinderet, cum suo quemque loco lapidem reponeret? QUI REDEMERIT SATIS DET DAMNI INFECTI EI QUI A VETERE REDEMPTORE ACCEPERIT. Deridet, cum sibi ipsum iubet satis dare Habonium. PECUNIA PRAESENS SOLVATUR. Quibus de bonis? Eius qui, quod tu HS DLX. milibus locasti, HS XL. milibus effecturum se esse clamavit. Quibus de bonis? Pupilli, cuius aetatem et solitudinem, etiamsi tutores non essent, defendere praetor debuit. Tutoribus defendentibus non modo patrias eius fortunas, sed etiam bona tutorum ademisti. HOC OPUS BONUM SUO
147 CUIQUE FACITO. Quid est SUO CUIQUE? Lapis aliqui

[a] Possibly *tectorium* here is "paint" or "whitewash."

[b] The aediles had the care of public buildings, and were expected to spend their own money on them to some extent.

[c] *Damni infecti*, lit. "harm that is not done." The new contractor for maintenance is to be secured against the contractor for restoration doing damage which the new contractor would have to make good.

moved up to each of those pillars that you can now see freshly whitened; they were taken down and replaced, without further expense, stone for stone as before. This was the undertaking for which your contractor received £5600! Yes, and I assert that of those pillars there are some that he never touched: I assert that there is one from which he merely scraped off the old stucco[a] and applied fresh. Well, if I had supposed it cost so much to whiten pillars, I should certainly never have been a candidate for the aedileship.[b]

LVI. However, to give it the appearance of a 146
business arrangement and not a robbery of that boy, we have the clause, "*Any portion of the structure cut away in the course of the restoration must be replaced.*" What was there to cut away, when he simply put each stone back in its place? "*The contractor will be required to give security for possible damage during restoration to the successor of the original contractor.*"[c] A good joke, to require Habonius to give security to himself! "*The cost shall be paid in cash.*" And from whose property? That of the person who declared distinctly that he would do for £400 what you have paid your contractor £5600 to do! From whose property, I ask again? That of a boy under age, whose tender years and orphan condition called for the praetor's protection, even though he had had no guardians. He did have guardians, who tried to protect him, and you, Verres, have stolen not only his patrimony but the property of the guardians too. "*The work must be carried out soundly with the proper material for each part of it.*" What do you mean by "*proper* 147
material for each part of it"? A certain amount of

caedendus et apportandus fuit machina sua; nam illo non saxum, non materies advecta est; tantum operis in ista locatione fuit quantum paucae operae fabrorum mercedis tulerunt, et manuspretium machinae. Utrum existimatis minus operis esse unam columnam efficere ab integro novam nullo lapide redivivo, an quattuor illas reponere? Nemo dubitat quin multo maius sit novam facere. Ostendam in aedibus privatis, longa difficilique vectura, columnas singulas ad impluvium HS xx. milibus non minus
148 magnas locatas. Sed ineptum est de tam perspicua eius impudentia pluribus verbis disputare, praesertim cum iste aperte tota lege omnium sermonem atque existimationem contempserit, qui etiam ad extremum ascripserit REDIVIVA SIBI HABETO; quasi quicquam redivivi ex opere illo tolleretur ac non totum opus ex redivivis constitueretur.

At enim si pupillo redimi non licebat non necesse erat rem ad ipsum pervenire; poterat aliquis ad id negotium de populo accedere. Omnes exclusi sunt non minus aperte quam pupillus. Diem praestituit operi faciundo Kalendas Decembres, locat circiter Idus Septembres; angustiis temporis excluduntur
149 omnes. LVII. Quid ergo? Habonius istam diem quomodo assequitur? Nemo Habonio molestus est

marble had to be cut and brought to the right spot by means of the proper appliance. That was all: there was no stone and no timber brought there: all that this contract involved was paying some masons for a few days' work, plus the cost of the scaffolding appliances. Which would you reckon the bigger undertaking, gentlemen, to construct a single complete new pillar without using any old stone again, or to put four of those pillars back where they were? Nobody can doubt that constructing one new one is far the bigger thing. Now I will prove to you that in a private house pillars just as large as these, though they had to be brought a long way over bad roads, have been erected round the rainpool
for £200 apiece. But it is silly, when his conduct is so 148
obviously shameless, to argue in great detail about it; especially as by the whole wording of the contract he openly showed his contempt for what everyone would say or think, even adding at the end "*The contractor may retain any unused old material*"—as if any old material at all were taken away from that operation, when the whole thing was done with old material.

It may be suggested that it did not follow, if the minor were not allowed to have the contract, that the matter must come into the hands of Verres: any member of the public might have undertaken the business. No, they were all barred from it as obviously as the minor himself. The day Verres fixed for the undertaking to be completed was the 1st of December, and he let the contract about the 13th of September; everyone was barred by the
shortness of the time allowed. LVII. Well, but 149
then, how did Habonius keep within the time? Nobody made any trouble for Habonius either on the

neque Kalendis Decembribus neque Nonis neque Idibus; denique aliquanto ante in provinciam iste proficiscitur quam opus effectum est. Posteaquam reus factus est, primo negabat se opus in acceptum referre posse; cum instaret Habonius, in me causam conferebat, quod eum codicem obsignassem. Petit a me Habonius et amicos allegat; facile impetrat. Iste quid ageret nesciebat; si in acceptum non rettulisset, putabat se aliquid defensionis habiturum; Habonium porro intellegebat rem totam esse patefacturum—tametsi quid poterat esse apertius quam nunc est? Ut uno minus teste ageret,[1] Habonio opus in acceptum rettulit quadriennio post quam diem
150 operi dixerat. Hac condicione, si quis de populo redemptor accessisset, non esset usus; cum die ceteros redemptores exclusisset, tum in eius arbitrium ac potestatem venire nolebant qui sibi ereptam praedam arbitraretur. Nunc ne argumentemur quo ista pecunia pervenerit, facit ipse indicium. Primum cum vehementius cum eo D. Brutus contenderet, qui de sua pecunia HS DLX. milia numeravit, quod iam iste ferre non poterat, opere addicto, praedibus acceptis, de HS DLX milibus remisit D. Bruto HS CX. milia. Hoc, si aliena res esset, certe facere non potuisset. Deinde nummi numerati sunt Cornificio. quem scribam suum fuisse negare non potest.

[1] ageret *is Peterson's emendation of the MS.* haberet.

[a] By alleging that he was ready to proceed against Habonius for breach of contract.

[b] These two details are to show how fully the business had (ostensibly) passed out of Verres' hands into those of Habonius.

[c] The whole £5600.

1st of December, or a week later, or a fortnight later: in fact Verres had left for his province some time before the work was completed. After his prosecution, he first said for some time that he could not certify that the work had been duly carried out; then, when Habonius pressed him, he referred him to me, saying that I had the memorandum-book under seal. Habonius asked me for it, and sent his friends to support him: his request was granted at once. Verres did not see what to do. If he refused to give the certificate, he thought he might thus have some sort of defence for himself[a]: but then he was aware that Habonius was likely in that case to expose the whole business—though what could be clearer than it now is? To have one less witness against him, he gave Habonius his certificate—in the fourth year after the date prescribed for the completion of the work! Had any contractor from the general public 150
come forward, he would not have enjoyed such favourable treatment: all the other contractors were not only barred by the time-limit, but afraid to trust themselves to the discretion of a powerful person who would be feeling that his prey had been torn from his grasp. There is no need to argue where that money must in fact have gone—he tells us himself. In the first place, when Decimus Brutus, who had paid down that £5600 out of his own purse, pressed him forcibly about it, he, not being able to stand the pressure any longer, returned £1100 out of the £5600 to Brutus, *after* the contract had been let[b] and security accepted for its completion[b]: which it is impossible to think that he would have done if the affair no longer concerned him. Secondly, the cash[c] was paid to Cornificius, who, as he cannot

Postremo ipsius Habonii tabulae praedam illam istius fuisse clamant. Recita. NOMINA HABONII.

151 LVIII. Hic etiam priore actione Q. Hortensius pupillum Iunium venisse praetextatum in vestrum conspectum et stetisse cum patruo testimonium dicente questus est, et me populariter agere atque invidiam commovere, quod puerum producerem, clamitavit. Quid erat, Hortensi, tandem in illo puero populare, quid invidiosum? Gracchi, credo, aut Saturnini aut alicuius hominis eius modi produxeram filium, ut nomine ipso et memoria patris animos imperitae multitudinis commoverem? P. Iunii erat, hominis de plebe Romana, filius, quem pater moriens cum tutoribus et propinquis, tum legibus, tum aequitati magistratuum, tum iudiciis vestris
152 commendatum putavit. Hic istius scelerato nefarioque latrocinio bonis patriis fortunisque omnibus spoliatus venit in iudicium, si nihil aliud, saltem ut eum cuius opere ipse multos annos esset in sordibus paulo tamen obsoletius vestitum videret. Itaque tibi, Hortensi, non illius aetas sed causa, non vestitus sed fortuna, popularis videbatur: neque te tam commovebat quod ille cum toga praetexta quam quod sine bulla venerat. Vestitus enim neminem commovebat is quem illi mos et ius ingenuitatis dabat:

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[a] Against Verres.

[b] Both were popular leaders and accounted martyrs in the people's cause.

[c] This was the convention for accused persons.

[d] The mark of his *youth*.

[e] The gold locket which free-born children wore, and which young Iunius, it is suggested, has been reduced, by poverty, to selling.

deny, was his own clerk. Finally, Habonius's own accounts proclaim the fact that the spoils fell to Verres. Read them aloud. *Accounts of Habonius.*

LVIII. I may add that in this connexion Hor- 151
tensius, during the first hearing, complained of the young Iunius having been brought into court for you to see, wearing his boy's dress, and having stood beside his uncle as the latter gave his evidence. Hortensius insisted loudly that I was playing to the gallery, and trying to arouse ill-feeling,[a] by thus bringing the boy forward. Now may I ask, Hortensius, what there was about the lad calculated to appeal to the public and excite its ill-will[a]? One would think I had brought forward the son of some man like Gracchus or Saturninus,[b] that his very name, and recollections of his father, might inflame the passions of the unsophisticated multitude. He was in fact the son of a very ordinary Roman called Publius Iunius; and his dying father fancied that he had left him to the care, not only of his guardians and kinsmen, but also of the law, of the kindly justice of our magistrates, and of the courts of which you,
gentlemen, are members. Despoiled, by that 152
criminal and wicked robber's hand, of his patrimony and his entire fortune, this boy has come into court for one purpose, if no other—to see the man who had made him go threadbare these many years now dressed himself, after all, a little more shabbily[c] still. So it was not his youth, Hortensius, but his cause, not his clothes but his misfortunes, that you thought would appeal to the public: you were less concerned by his coming here wearing a fringed toga[d] than by his not wearing his locket.[e] Nobody was much moved by seeing him wear the clothes that custom and the

quod ornamentum pueritiae pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunae, hoc ab isto praedone ereptum
153 esse graviter tum et acerbe homines ferebant. Neque erant hae lacrimae populares magis quam nostrae, quam tuae, Q. Hortensi, quam horum qui sententiam laturi sunt, ideo quod communis est causa, commune periculum: communi praesidio talis improbitas tamquam aliquod incendium restinguenda est. Habemus enim liberos parvos; incertum est quam longa cuiusque nostrum vita futura sit; consulere vivi ac prospicere debemus ut illorum solitudo et pueritia quam firmissimo praesidio munita sit. Quis est enim qui tueri possit liberum nostrorum pueritiam contra improbitatem magistratuum? Mater, credo. Scilicet magno praesidio fuit Anniae pupillae mater, femina primaria; minus, illa deos hominesque implorante, iste infanti pupillae fortunas patrias ademit. Tutoresne defendent? Perfacile vero apud istius modi praetorem, a quo M. Marcelli tutoris in causa pupilli Iunii et oratio et voluntas et auctoritas repudiata est.

154 LIX. Quaerimus etiam quid iste in ultima Phrygia, quid in extremis Pamphyliae partibus fecerit, qualis in bello praedonum praedo ipse fuerit, qui in foro populi Romani pirata nefarius reperiatur? Dubitamus quid iste in hostium praeda molitus sit, qui

privilege of free birth allowed him; but the boy's jewel that his father had given him, the sign and token of his happier fortune—seeing how that robber had torn *this* from him, the people did then feel concern and distress indeed. And if the people wept 153
then, so did I, so did you, Hortensius, so did these who will presently give their verdict: and for this reason, that the cause concerns us all, and the danger threatens us all, and it is by the rescuing hands of us all that this wickedness must be extinguished like some destroying fire. For we are the fathers of little children, and no one of us can tell how long he has to live: we must take counsel, ere we die, and make provision that their lonely years of childhood may have as strong a rampart as we can build round them. For who can protect our children in their early years against the wickedness of our magistrates? Their mothers, to be sure. And a strong defence indeed little Annia found her mother, great lady though the mother was! Much she could do, with her cries for help to God and man, to stay Verres from robbing her infant daughter of all that the child's father had bequeathed her! Will guardians save them? An easy thing indeed, with a praetor such as this, with whom Marcus Marcellus pleaded for his ward Iunius, to find that his eloquence, his earnest wishes, his personal influence, all went for nothing!

LIX. Do we now ask how Verres has behaved in 154
distant Phrygia, or in the remote regions of Pamphylia; or how in the war against the sea-robbers, he has played the robber himself: Verres, whose black deeds of piracy we find done here in the heart of Rome? Can we doubt his jobbery over the plunder taken from our enemies, seeing how he has enriched

manubias sibi tantas ex L. Metelli manubiis fecerit, qui maiore pecunia quattuor columnas dealbandas quam ille omnes aedificandas locaverit? Exspectemus quid dicant ex Sicilia testes? Quis umquam templum illud aspexit quin avaritiae tuae, quin iniuriae, quin audaciae testis esset? Quis a signo Vertumni in circum maximum venit quin is uno quoque gradu de avaritia tua commoneretur? quam tu viam tensarum atque pompae eius modi exegisti ut tu ipse illa ire non audeas. Te putet quisquam, cum ab Italia freto disiunctus esses, sociis temperasse, qui aedem Castoris testem tuorum furtorum esse volueris? quam populus Romanus cotidie, iudices etiam tum cum de te sententiam ferent, videbunt.

155 LX. Atque etiam iudicium in praetura publicum exercuit; non enim praetereundum est ne id quidem. Petita multa est apud istum praetorem a Q. Opimio; qui adductus est in iudicium, verbo quod cum esset tribunus plebis intercessisset contra legem Corneliam, re vera quod in tribunatu dixisset contra alicuius hominis nobilis voluntatem. De quo iudicio si velim dicere omnia, multi appellandi laedendique sint, id quod mihi non est necesse. Tantum dicam, paucos homines, ut levissime appellem, arrogantes hoc

[a] Consul in 119, and restorer of the temple of Castor, where he dedicated trophies of the Dalmatian war.

[b] The contractor for the upkeep of this road bribed Verres to let him scamp his work.

himself with spoil from the spoils that Lucius Metellus[a] took for us, and paid his contractor more money for whitening four of those pillars than Metellus paid for the building of them all? Need we wait to hear what the witnesses from Sicily shall tell us? Has anyone looked at that temple without becoming a witness to your rapacity and injustice and reckless wickedness? Has anyone walked along the road from the statue of Vertumnus to the Circus Maximus without being reminded of your rapacious greed at every step he took? The repair of that road, the route for sacred coaches and processions, you have enforced so thoroughly[b] that you would not risk going over it yourself. Is anyone expected to believe that, once salt water lay between you and Italy, you had any mercy on our allies, when you have not shrunk from letting Castor's temple be the witness of your thefts? Upon that temple the eyes of Rome rest daily; and upon it the eyes of your judges will rest, as they pronounce their verdict upon you.

LX. He conducted criminal as well as civil cases 155
during his praetorship; and the following occurrence should not be passed unnoticed. A charge involving a fine was brought before him as praetor against Quintus Opimius, who was nominally prosecuted because, when tribune of the people, he had used his veto in violation of the Cornelian law, but really because, during his year of office, he had made a speech offensive to some man of high rank. If I chose to tell the full story of this trial, I should have to name, and cause pain to, a great many people. This my case does not require me to do; and I will merely observe that a handful of arrogant persons (I cannot describe them more mildly), assisted by

adiutore Q. Opimium per ludum et iocum fortunis omnibus evertisse.

156 Is mihi etiam queritur quod a nobis IX. solis diebus prima actio sui iudicii transacta sit, cum apud ipsum tribus horis Q. Opimius, senator populi Romani, bona, fortunas, ornamenta omnia amiserit? cuius propter indignitatem iudicii saepissime est actum in senatu ut genus hoc totum multarum atque eius modi iudiciorum tolleretur. Iam vero in bonis Q. Opimii vendendis quas iste praedas quam aperte, quam improbe fecerit, longum est dicere: hoc dico: nisi vobis id hominum honestissimorum tabulis planum fecero, fingi a me
157 hoc totum temporis causa putatote. Iam qui ex calamitate senatoris populi Romani, cum praetor iudicio eius praefuisset, spolia domum suam referre et manubias detrahere conatus sit, is ullam ab sese calamitatem poterit deprecari?

LXI. Nam de subsortitione illa Iuniana iudicum nihil dico. Quid enim? contra tabulas quas tu protulisti audeam dicere? Difficile est; non enim me tua solum et iudicum auctoritas sed etiam anulus aureus scribae tui deterret. Non dicam id quod probare difficile est: hoc dicam quod ostendam

[a] Probably this refers to the proposed practical repeal of Sulla's regulations limiting the activity of the tribunes: the law was to remain, but no action was to be taken against those who broke it.

[b] For the trial of Oppianicus. Iunius was accused of tampering with the ballot in order to secure a venial court. Verres as *praetor urbanus* had a general charge of all these ballots.

[c] *i.e.*, Verres' signature, which Cicero suggests was forged and sealed by his clerk.

Verres, with heartless levity brought Quintus Opimius to utter ruin.

Does Verres still complain of my unfairness in 156
dispatching the first hearing of his trial in nine days only, when Quintus Opimius, a senator of Rome, was completely stripped, by the court over which Verres presided, of property and money and personal treasures in three short hours? a miscarriage of justice that has led to repeated motions in the Senate that all fines for this class of offence, and all prosecutions of this class, should be abolished.[a] And then again, in conducting the sale of Opimius's property, the amount of which Verres robbed him, and the naked and scandalous way in which he did it, would make a long story: but I tell you this, gentlemen—that unless I prove the fact to you, out of the ledgers of honest men, you may regard the whole thing as an invention of my own to meet the present emergency.
And now shall the man who sought to profit by the 157
ruin of a senator of Rome at whose trial he had presided, and to carry home spoils and march off with trophies from such a source—shall this man have power to pray heaven to avert ruin in any shape from his own head?

LXI. Enough; for I make no reference to the notorious supplementary ballot[b] for members of the court over which Iunius presided. Why, how could I venture to throw doubt upon the records you have produced in court? No light task that; I am deterred from it not merely by respect for your character, Verres, and the character of the members of that court, but by your clerk's golden ring.[c] I will allege nothing so hard to prove as that. But I

multos ex te viros primarios audisse, cum diceres ignosci tibi oportere quod falsum codicem protuleris; nam qua invidia C. Iunius conflagravit, ea, nisi pro-
158 vidisses, tibi ipsi tum pereundum fuisset.[1] Hoc modo iste sibi et saluti suae prospicere didicit, referendo in tabulas et privatas et publicas quod gestum non esset, tollendo quod esset, et semper aliquid demendo, mutando, interpolando. Eo enim usque progreditur ut ne defensionem quidem maleficiorum suorum sine aliis maleficiis reperire possit. Eius modi sortitionem homo amentissimus suorum quoque iudicum fore putavit per sodalem suum Q. Curtium, iudicem quaestionis suae: cui nisi ego vi populi atque hominum clamore atque convicio restitissem, ex hac decuria vestra, cuius mihi copiam quam largissime factam oportebat, quos iste annuerat in suum consilium sine causa subsortiebatur.

[1] conflagraret . . . fuisse *would improve the sense.*

[a] *Suae* refers to Curtius, not to Verres. Where no praetor was available to preside over a *quaestio*, a president was chosen from among the members of the court.

[b] Namely, the most honest men, who would be most hostile to Verres. Cicero made Curtius resort to some other panel to fill the vacancies in his court. He implies that Curtius would have tampered with this ballot.

will repeat what I will show that many men of high standing have heard you say—that you ought to be forgiven for producing a forged record; for the hatred against Gaius Iunius was so intense that, had you not taken precautions, you would then have been ruined
yourself. This is the kind of precaution that Verres 158
has learnt to take for himself and his own safety: he takes records, private and official, inserts what never happened and erases what did, and is always scratching out or altering or interpolating something. Indeed he has gone so far that he cannot even avoid the consequences of his crimes except by committing fresh crimes. The insane scoundrel thought that he could manage a supplementary ballot of the same kind for the judges who were to try himself, by the help of Quintus Curtius, president of his own[a] criminal court. Had I not had the strong help of the people, who supported my resistance to this move with loud shouts of anger and abuse, Curtius would have proceeded to draw, by means of this supplementary ballot, upon your own panel, to which it was important for me to have the freest possible access, and would without the least justification have secured for his own court the men whom Verres selected for removal.[b]

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER SECUNDUS

1 I. Multa mihi necessario, iudices, praetermittenda sunt, ut possim aliquo modo aliquando de his rebus quae meae fidei commissae sunt dicere. Recepi enim causam Siciliae; ea me ad hoc negotium provincia attraxit. Ego tamen, hoc onere suscepto et recepta causa Siciliensi, amplexus animo sum aliquanto amplius. Suscepi enim causam totius ordinis, suscepi causam rei publicae, quod putabam tum denique recte iudicari posse si non modo reus improbus adduceretur, sed etiam diligens et firmus accusator
2 ad iudicium veniret. Quo mihi maturius ad Siciliae causam veniendum est, relictis ceteris eius furtis atque flagitiis, ut et viribus quam integerrimis agere et ad dicendum temporis satis habere possim.

Atque antequam de incommodis Siciliae dico, pauca mihi videntur esse de provinciae dignitate, vetustate, utilitate dicenda. Nam cum omnium sociorum provinciarumque rationem diligenter habere

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK II

I. There is much, gentlemen, that I must inevitably 1
pass over, if I am to deal, sooner or later, to the best of my power, with the matters entrusted to my honourable keeping. For I promised to champion Sicily; it is the province of Sicily that involved me in my present undertaking. And yet, though this is the burden I shouldered, though I did indeed promise to champion Sicily, my thoughts came to embrace a somewhat wider purpose. The fact is that I promised myself to champion the whole Senatorial order, nay, to champion Rome itself: feeling as I did that, if justice was to be done in this court, it was not enough for a guilty man to be prosecuted there; a strong, conscientious man must appear there to prosecute him. And therefore I must not touch upon the rest 2
of Verres' robberies and outrages, but come without delay to the defence of Sicily, that I may be able to conduct it with the maximum of freshness and energy, and have time enough at my disposal for what I have to say.

But before I speak of Sicily's distresses, I feel that I should say a little of the high position of that province, of its antiquity, and of its practical importance. Your attentive consideration, due to the interests of all our allies and all our provinces, is

debetis, tum praecipue Siciliae, iudices, plurimis iustissimisque de causis, primum quod omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi Romani applicavit. Prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata. Prima docuit maiores nostros quam praeclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Sola fuit ea fide benivolentiaque erga populum Romanum ut civitates eius insulae, quae semel in amicitiam nostram venissent, numquam postea deficerent, pleraeque autem et maxime illustres in amicitia perpetuo manerent.
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4 menta victoriae plurima collocaret. Denique ille ipse M. Marcellus, cuius in Sicilia virtutem hostes, misericordiam victi, fidem ceteri Siculi perspexerunt, non solum sociis in eo bello consuluit, verum etiam superatis hostibus temperavit. Urbem pulcherrimam Syracusas, quae cum manu munitissima esset tum loci natura terra ac mari clauderetur, cum vi consilioque cepisset, non solum incolumem passus est esse, sed ita reliquit ornatam ut esset idem monu-

especially due, gentlemen, to those of Sicily, for many strong reasons, the first of which is this, that Sicily was the first of all foreign nations to become the loyal friend of Rome. She was the first of all to receive the title of province, the first such jewel in our imperial crown. She was the first who made our forefathers perceive how splendid a thing foreign empire is. No other nation has equalled her in loyal goodwill towards us: once the various states in the island had embraced our friendship, they never thereafter seceded from it; and most of them, and those the most notable, remained, without a break, our firm friends. From this province therefore it 3
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and Marcus Marcellus himself, known in Sicily as terrible to his enemies, as merciful to the beaten, as a faithful friend of all the rest—Marcellus not only defended those who then fought for us, but in the hour of victory spared those who fought against us. When the noble city of Syracuse, strongly fortified by art, and defended by nature against assault by land or sea, nevertheless fell before his strong arm and military skill, he left it not merely unharmed, but so richly adorned that it was a memorial alike

mentum victoriae, mansuetudinis, continentiae, cum homines viderent et quid expugnasset et quibus pepercisset et quae reliquisset. Tantum ille honorem habendum Siciliae putavit ut ne hostium quidem urbem ex sociorum insula tollendam arbitraretur.

5 Itaque ad omnes res sic illa provincia semper usi sumus ut, quicquid ex sese posset efferre, id non apud eos[1] nasci sed domi nostrae conditum putaremus. Quando illa frumentum quod deberet non ad diem dedit? quando id quod opus esse putaret non ultro pollicita est? quando id quod imperaretur recusavit? Itaque ille M. Cato Sapiens cellam penariam rei publicae nostrae, nutricem plebis Romanae Siciliam nominabat. Nos vero experti sumus Italico maximo difficillimoque bello Siciliam nobis non pro penaria cella, sed pro aerario illo maiorum vetere ac referto fuisse; nam sine ullo sumptu nostro coriis tunicis frumentoque suppeditando maximos exercitus nostros
6 vestivit, aluit, armavit. III. Quid? illa quae forsitan ne sentimus quidem, iudices, quanta sunt! quod multis locupletioribus civibus utimur, quod habent propinquam fidelem fructuosamque provinciam, quo facile excurrant, ubi libenter negotium gerant; quos illa partim mercibus suppeditandis cum quaestu compendioque dimittit, partim retinet, ut arare, ut pascere, ut negotiari libeat, ut denique sedes ac domicilium collocare; quod commodum non mediocre rei publicae est, tantum civium numerum

[1] nos *the Cluni* MS., *followed by Peterson, perhaps rightly*: "*not only* grown *on our own* soil *but already* stored *in our own* granaries."

of his victory, of his clemency, and of his self-control, since men beheld the fortress he had captured, the people he had spared, and the treasures he had left unplundered. So much respect he reckoned due to Sicily that the island of our friends was, he judged, not to be deprived even of the city of our enemies.

And accordingly our relations with the province 5
for all purposes were always such that we looked upon her various products not as growing on their soil, but as already added to our stores at home. When has she failed to pay us punctually her tribute of grain? When has she not spontaneously offered us what she believed that we wanted? When has she refused to supply what was ordered of her? Cato Sapiens called her in consequence "the nation's storehouse, the nurse at whose breast the Roman people is fed." Nay, we in our time have found, in the critical days of the great Italian war, how Sicily has been to us no mere storehouse, but like the ancient and well-filled State Treasury of our fathers' days, supplying us with hides and shirts and grain, free of cost to ourselves, to clothe, feed and equip our great armies.
III. Yes, and she does us services, great services, of 6
which we, gentlemen, I daresay, are not even aware. Many of our citizens are the richer for having a profitable field of enterprise in this loyal province close at hand, which they can visit so easily, and where they can carry on their business so freely. To some of these Sicily supplies merchandise, and sends them away enriched with profits: others she keeps with her, to become, according to their preference, corn farmers or stock farmers or business men, and in short, to settle and make a home there. It is a national advantage of no trifling kind that so large

tam prope ab domo tam bonis fructuosisque rebus
7 detineri. Et quoniam quasi quaedam praedia populi Romani sunt vectigalia nostra atque provinciae, quem ad modum vos propinquis vestris praediis maxime delectamini, sic populo Romano iucunda suburbanitas est huiusce provinciae.

Iam vero hominum ipsorum, iudices, ea patientia virtus frugalitasque est ut proxime ad nostram disciplinam illam veterem, non ad hanc quae nunc increbruit, videantur accedere. Nihil ceterorum simile Graecorum; nulla desidia, nulla luxuries; contra summus labor in publicis privatisque rebus, summa parsimonia, summa diligentia. Sic porro nostros homines diligunt ut iis solis neque publicanus
8 neque negotiator odio sit. Magistratuum autem nostrorum iniurias ita multorum tulerunt ut numquam ante hoc tempus ad aram legum praesidiumque vestrum publico consilio confugerint; tametsi et illum annum pertulerant qui sic eos afflixerat ut salvi esse non possent, nisi C. Marcellus quasi aliquo fato venisset, ut bis ex eadem familia salus Siciliae constitueretur, et postea M. Antonii infinitum illud imperium senserant. Sic a maioribus suis acceperant, tanta populi Romani in Siculos esse beneficia ut etiam iniurias nostrorum hominum perferendas putarent.

[a] 80 B.C., during which Lepidus, father of the triumvir, was governor of Sicily.

[b] See *Divinatio* § 55. His wide general powers in 74 were like those conferred on Pompeius in 67: but he failed where Pompeius succeeded.

a number of Roman citizens should be kept so near their own country, engaged in occupations so honest and profitable. Our tributes and our provinces 7
constitute, in a sense, our nation's landed estates; and thus, just as you, gentlemen, gain most pleasure from such of your estates as are close to Rome, so to the nation there is something pleasant in the nearness of this province to the capital.

And then again, the character of the inhabitants is such, so hardy and upright and honest, that it really reminds us of the stern old Roman manners, rather than of those which have come to prevail among us to-day. They have none of the failings found elsewhere among Greeks; they are neither slothful nor self-indulgent; on the contrary, they are highly industrious, for their own and for the public good; plain-living and conscientious folk. Such, moreover, is their attachment to our own people that among them, and nowhere else, neither tax-collector nor capitalist is an object of dislike. Acts of oppression, 8
again, on the part of Roman officials, they have borne so patiently, time after time, that never before this day have they, as a community, sought a refuge in the sanctuary of the law and the stronghold of your protection: and yet they had to live through that awful year[a] which brought them so low that they would certainly have been ruined but for the coming of Gaius Marcellus, sent them, it would seem, by destiny as the second Marcellus to be the saviour of Sicily; and after that they suffered under the autocratic powers conferred on Marcus Antonius.[b] It was an inherited tradition of theirs to regard Rome as so great a benefactor of the Sicilians that they must even endure oppression, if the oppressors were

9 In neminem civitates ante hunc testimonium publice
dixerunt. Hunc denique ipsum pertulissent, si
humano modo, si usitato more, si denique uno aliquo
in genere peccasset. Sed cum perferre non possent
luxuriem, crudelitatem, avaritiam, superbiam, cum
omnia sua commoda, iura, beneficia senatus populique
Romani unius scelere ac libidine perdidissent, hoc
statuerunt, aut istius iniurias per vos ulcisci ac
persequi, aut, si vobis indigni essent visi quibus opem
auxiliumque ferretis, urbes ac sedes suas relinquere,
quandoquidem agros iam ante istius iniuriis exagitati
10 reliquissent. IV. Hoc consilio a L. Metello lega-
tiones universae petiverunt ut quam primum isti
succederet; hoc animo totiens apud patronos de
suis miseriis deplorarunt; hoc commoti dolore
postulata consulibus, quae non postulata sed in istum
crimina viderentur esse, ediderunt. Fecerunt etiam
ut me, cuius fidem continentiamque cognoverant,
prope de vitae meae statu dolore ac lacrimis suis
deducerent, ut ego istum accusarem; a quo mea
longissime ratio voluntasque abhorrebat; quamquam
in hac causa multo plures partes mihi defensionis
11 quam accusationis suscepisse videor. Postremo

Romans. Verres is the first man against whom their 9
cities have officially sent witnesses to testify. They
would, in fact, have endured even Verres in silence,
if only his offences had been those of an ordinary man,
offences of a recognized and usual type, or, indeed,
of only a single sort, no matter what. But finding his
luxury and his cruelty, his greed and his insolence,
beyond their power of endurance; finding all the
privileges and rights and benefits ever granted them
by the Roman senate and nation reft from them by
this one unscrupulous scoundrel: they made up
their minds to one of two things; either to prosecute
their oppressor, and secure revenge, if you would help
them; or else, if you should count them unworthy
of receiving your aid and succour, to abandon their
cities and their homes—their countryside they had
already abandoned, driven from it like game by their
oppressor. IV. This was the purpose of the entreaty 10
made by all their deputations to Lucius Metellus,
that he would take over the government from Verres
at the earliest possible moment; this was the state
of mind that led them to pour out their tale of woe
so often into their Roman supporters' ears; this was
the distress that moved them to present to the consuls
those petitions of theirs, which, it was plain, were not
really petitions, but charges against that man yonder.
And further, their distress and their lamentations
succeeded in inducing myself, known to them as a man
of honour and integrity, almost to abandon the fixed
principle of my life in becoming the prosecutor of
Verres, a step intensely repugnant to my ideas and
my feelings: even though, in this particular case, I
look upon myself as having undertaken the part of
defender far more than that of prosecutor. And 11

homines ex tota provincia nobilissimi primique publice privatimque venerunt; gravissima atque amplissima quaeque civitas vehementissime suas iniurias persecuta est.

At quem ad modum, iudices, venerunt? Videor enim mihi liberius apud vos iam pro Siculis loqui debere quam forsitan ipsi velint; saluti enim potius eorum consulam quam voluntati. Ecquem existimatis umquam ulla in provincia reum absentem contra inquisitionem accusatoris tantis opibus, tanta cupiditate esse defensum? Quaestores utriusque provinciae qui isto praetore fuerant cum fascibus mihi
12 praesto fuerunt; his porro qui successerunt, vehementer istius cupidi, liberaliter ex istius cibariis tractati, non minus acres contra me fuerunt. Videte quid potuerit qui quattuor in una provincia quaestores studiosissimos defensores propugnatoresque habuerit, praetorem vero cohortemque totam sic studiosam ut facile appareret non tam illis Siciliam, quam inanem offenderant, quam Verrem ipsum, qui plenus decesserat, provinciam fuisse. Minari Siculis, si decrevissent legationes quae contra istum dicerent, minari, si qui essent profecti; aliis, si laudarent, benignissime promittere; gravissimos privatarum rerum testes,

lastly, men of the highest birth and the highest rank have come to Rome, officially or as private persons, from every part of the province; every great and important city of Sicily has flung itself eagerly into the task of avenging its wrongs.

But in what circumstances, gentlemen, have they thus come to us? I feel that I must, at this point, speak to you on behalf of these Sicilians with less reserve than, it may be, they would themselves wish; I will aim at forwarding their deliverance rather than their desires. Was ever an accused person, think you, in any of our provinces, protected in his own absence against a prosecutor's investigations by such an expenditure of money and passionate effort? The quaestors of both divisions who had served under him were on the spot to oppose me, supported by
lictors: and their successors, being his enthusiastic 12
supporters, and having been liberally dealt with by him out of his fund for travelling expenses,[a] opposed me with equal bitterness. Think of the power in the hands of a man who had, in the one province, four quaestors doing their utmost to shield and defend him; and the praetor, with all the praetor's staff, doing so much for him that it was easy to see that their field of operations had not been Sicily, which they had found empty, but the governor of Sicily, who had gone away full. They threatened the inhabitants with vengeance if they appointed deputations to give evidence against Verres, or if any of them left for Rome: they made the most liberal promises to others if only they would speak in his favour: they took important witnesses, witnesses to private

[a] An ironical way of saying "bribed."

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quibus nos praesentibus denuntiavimus, eos vi custodiisque retinere.

13 V. Quae cum omnia facta sint, tamen unam solam scitote esse civitatem, Mamertinam, quae publice legatos qui istum laudarent miserit. Eius autem legationis principem, civitatis nobilissimum civem, C. Heium, iuratum dicere audistis isti navem onerariam maximam Messanae esse publice coactis operis aedificatam; idemque Mamertinorum legatus, istius laudator, non solum istum bona sua, verum etiam sacra deosque penates a maioribus traditos, ex aedibus suis eripuisse dixit. Praeclara laudatio, cum duabus in rebus legatorum una opera consumitur, in laudando atque repetendo! Atque ea ipsa civitas qua ratione isti amica sit dicetur certo loco. Reperietis enim, quae causae benivolentiae Mamertinis erga istum sint, eas ipsas causas satis iustas esse damnationis. Alia civitas nulla, iudices, publico consilio
14 laudat. Vis illa summi imperii tantum potuit apud perpaucos homines, non civitates, ut aut levissimi quidam ex miserrimis desertissimisque oppidis invenirentur qui iniussu populi ac senatus proficiscerentur, aut ii qui contra istum legati decreti erant, et testimonium publicum mandataque acceperant, vi ac metu retinerentur. Quod ego in paucis tamen usu

charges, men summoned in person by myself, and set guards to prevent them by force from leaving the country.

V. Now in spite of all this, let me inform you that 13
only one single city, that of the Mamertines, has sent an official deputation to speak in Verres' support: and the chief man of that very deputation, Gaius Heius, the most distinguished person in that city, has stated on oath in your hearing that a large cargo ship was built for Verres at Messana by workmen officially impressed; and this same representative of the Mamertines and eulogist of Verres has charged Verres with not merely carrying off his personal property but plundering his home of the sacred vessels and household gods that were his family heirlooms. An impressive eulogy indeed, when the energies of those sent to deliver it are divided between praising the thief and denouncing his thefts! You shall, moreover, be told when the time comes of the origin of Messana's attachment to Verres: and you will then see that the grounds for her citizens' goodwill towards him are in themselves sufficient grounds for his conviction. Of the other cities, not one, gentlemen, sends him official support. All the force of his 14
sovereign authority could only so far prevail with a handful of individuals—not cities—that in some cases certain unimportant inhabitants of unprosperous and decaying towns were found ready to go off to Rome without the authority of their town or town council, and in other cases persons who had been appointed to appear against him, and had been supplied with official evidence and instructions, were forced or frightened into staying at home. And after all, I am not sorry that in a few instances this has actually

venisse non moleste tuli, quo reliquae tot et tantae et tam graves civitates, tota denique Sicilia plus auctoritatis apud vos haberet, cum videretis nulla vi retineri, nullo periculo prohiberi potuisse quo minus experirentur ecquid apud vos querimoniae valerent anti-
15 quissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum. Nam quod fortasse non nemo vestrum audierit, istum a Syracusanis publice laudari, id tametsi priore actione ex Heraclii Syracusani testimonio cuius modi esset cognovistis, tamen vobis alio loco ut se tota res habeat, quod ad eam civitatem attinet, demonstrabitur. Intellegetis enim nullis hominibus quemquam tanto odio quanto istum Syracusanis et esse et fuisse.

VI. At enim istum Siculi soli persequuntur: cives Romani qui in Sicilia negotiantur, defendunt, diligunt, salvum esse cupiunt. Primum, si ita esset, tamen vos in hac quaestione de pecuniis repetundis, quae sociorum causa constituta est lege iudicioque sociali,
16 sociorum querimonias audire oporteret. Sed intellegere potuistis priore actione cives Romanos honestissimos ex Sicilia plurimos maximis de rebus, et quas ipsi accepissent iniurias et quas scirent esse aliis factas, pro testimonio dicere. Ego hoc quod intellego, iudices, sic confirmo. Videor mihi gratum fecisse Siculis quod eorum iniurias meo labore, inimicitiis, periculo sim persecutus: non minus hoc gratum me

occurred, since it must increase your respect for all the many other great and important cities, in fact for Sicily as a whole, showing you how these people could be withheld by no force, turned back by no peril, from discovering whether you feel any sort of concern for the grievances of your oldest and most loyal allies. As to the statement, which some of 15
you may have heard, that the Syracusans are giving him an official eulogy, you know from the evidence of the Syracusan Heraclius, given at the first hearing, what that means; you shall, however, have the whole facts of the case, so far as Syracuse is concerned, put clearly before you later: and you will certainly perceive that no man was ever hated so heartily by any body of persons as that man was, and is, hated by the people of Syracuse.

VI. It may be suggested that only the Sicilians are his enemies, and that those Roman citizens who are carrying on business in Sicily support him, like him, and desire his acquittal. My first answer to that is this: even were it so, yet the Extortion Court was established for our allies; the law was passed, the procedure was set up, for our allies' benefit; and therefore it is the grievances of our allies to which you, as members of this Court, must listen. But in 16
fact your attention was drawn, in the first hearing, to the important evidence of a large number of reputable Roman citizens from Sicily, showing both the wrongs done to themselves and the wrongs they knew had been done to others. I will tell this Court one thing of whose truth I am sure, and it is this. I believe myself to have gratified the Sicilians by my endeavours to redress their wrongs at the cost of toil, hostility, and danger to myself: I know that this

nostris civibus intellego fecisse, qui hoc existimant, iuris libertatis rerum fortunarumque suarum salutem
17 in istius damnatione consistere. Quapropter de istius praetura Siciliensi non recuso quin ita me audiatis ut, si cuiquam generi hominum, sive Siculorum sive nostrorum civium, si cuiquam ordini, sive aratorum sive pecuariorum sive mercatorum, probatus sit, si non horum omnium communis hostis praedoque fuerit, si cuiquam denique in re umquam ulla temperaverit, ut vos quoque ei temperetis.

Qui simul atque ei sorte provincia Sicilia obvenit, statim Romae et ab urbe antequam proficisceretur, quaerere ipse secum et agitare cum suis coepit quibusnam rebus in ea provincia maximam uno anno pecuniam facere posset. Nolebat in agendo discere tametsi non provinciae rudis erat et tiro, sed Siciliae paratus ad praedam meditatusque venire cupiebat.
18 O praeclare coniectum a vulgo in illam provinciam omen communis famae atque sermonis, cum ex nomine istius quid iste in provincia facturus esset perridicule homines augurabantur! Etenim quis dubitare posset—cum istius in quaestura fugam et furtum recognosceret, cum in legatione oppidorum fanorumque spoliationes cogitaret, cum videret in foro latrocinia praeturae—qualis iste in quarto actu improbitatis futurus esset? VII. Atque ut intellegatis eum Romae quaesisse non modo genera

action of mine has been equally gratifying to our countrymen, who believe that the preservation of their rights and liberties, their property and fortunes, depends on the condemnation of the man now before
you. And therefore I am content that you should 17
listen to my account of his governorship of Sicily on the understanding that, if he shall appear to have satisfied any description of person, Sicilian or Roman, cultivators or stock-farmers or traders or any class whatsoever; if he shall not appear equally the enemy and robber of all of them; if, in fact, you find that he has ever in any respect spared any of them—that then you in your turn shall spare him.

No sooner had the lot given him Sicily as his province than he proceeded, while still in Rome, before he left the city, to ask himself, and to discuss with his friends, by what methods he could make most money out of a single year in the province. He was not content to discover these methods on the spot, though he was no raw new-comer to the work of government; his prey being Sicily, he was anxious to arrive there with his designs thought out and prepared beforehand.
Admirably indeed did popular rumour and the general 18
talk of the streets interpret the omens for that unhappy province, inferring with prophetic jests from his name Verres the manner in which he was likely to behave there! Who, to be sure, could feel doubtful—considering his acts of desertion and theft as quaestor, thinking of his plunderings of towns and temples as assistant-governor, seeing in our Forum his deeds of brigandage as praetor—how he would perform the fourth act in the vicious drama of his life? VII. And now, to show you that his researches at Rome included not only the general principles of

furandi sed etiam nomina certissima, accipite argumentum quo facilius de singulari eius impudentia existimare possitis.

19 Quo die Siciliam attigit (videte satisne paratus ex
illo omine urbano ad everrendam provinciam venerit)
statim Messana litteras Halaesam mittit, quas ego
istum in Italia conscripsisse arbitror, nam simul atque
e navi egressus est dedit: Halaesinus ad se Dio continuo
veniret; se de hereditate velle cognoscere
quae eius filio a propinquo homine Apollodoro
20 Laphirone venisset. Ea erat, iudices, pergrandis
pecunia. Hic est Dio, iudices, nunc beneficio Q.
Metelli civis Romanus factus; de quo multis viris
primariis testibus multorumque tabulis vobis priore
actione satis factum est HS deciens numerata esse ut
eam causam in qua ne tenuissima quidem dubitatio
posset esse isto cognoscente obtineret; praeterea
greges nobilissimarum equarum abactos, argenti
vestisque stragulae domi quod fuerit esse direptum:
ita HS deciens Q. Dionem quod hereditas ei venisset,
21 nullam aliam ob causam, perdidisse. Quid? haec
hereditas quo praetore Dionis filio venerat? Eodem
quo Anniae, P. Annii senatoris filiae, eodem quo M.
Liguri senatori, C. Sacerdote praetore. Quid? tum
nemo molestus Dioni fuerat? Non plus quam

[a] *i.e.*, propraetor in Sicily and *praetor urbanus* in Rome respectively.

thieving but the precise names of his victims, let me put some evidence before you that may help you to appreciate the unique quality of his unscrupulous behaviour.

The day he landed in Sicily—mark how Rome's 19
prophetic interpretation of his name was borne out
by his full preparations to sweep the province clean
on arrival—he promptly sent off from Messana to
Halaesa a letter which I conceive he had written in
Italy, for he dispatched it the moment he had stepped
ashore. In this letter he summoned Dio of Halaesa
to appear before him without delay; he intended,
he said, to investigate a legacy received by Dio's son
from a relative, Apollodorus Laphiro. This legacy, 20
gentlemen, was a very large sum of money. Dio,
you should know, has now the rank of a Roman citizen,
conferred on him by Quintus Metellus; and it was
he, as was made clear to you at the first hearing of
this case by the personal and written evidence of a
number of witnesses of high standing, by whom the
sum of ten thousand pounds was paid over to secure
from Verres a judgement in his favour on an issue
admitting not the smallest shadow of doubt. Besides
this, his herds of thoroughbred mares were taken from
his fields, and his house plundered of all the silver and
tapestries it contained. Thus Dio lost ten thousand
pounds simply through having received a legacy.
Now who was praetor[a] when this legacy came to Dio's 21
son? Why, the man who was praetor[a] when legacies[b]
came to Annia the daughter of the senator Publius
Annius and to the senator Marcus Ligus—Gaius
Sacerdos was praetor. Then did no one make
trouble for Dio at that time? No one, any more

[b] See i. 104 and 125.

Liguri, Sacerdote praetore. Quid? ad Verrem quis detulit? Nemo, nisi forte existimatis ei quadruplatores ad fretum praesto fuisse. VIII. Ad urbem cum esset, audivit Dioni cuidam Siculo permagnam venisse hereditatem; heredem statuas iussum esse in foro ponere; nisi posuisset, Veneri Erycinae esse multatum. Tametsi positae essent ex testamento, tamen putabat, quoniam Veneris nomen esset,
22 causam calumniae se reperturum. Itaque apponit qui petat Veneri Erycinae illam hereditatem. Non enim quaestor petit, ut est consuetudo, is qui Erycum montem obtinebat: petit Naevius Turpio quidam, istius excursor et emissarius, homo omnium ex illo conventu quadruplatorum deterrimus, C. Sacerdote praetore condemnatus iniuriarum. Etenim erat eius modi causa ut ipse praetor, cum quaereret calumniatorem, paulo tamen consideratiorem reperire non posset. Hunc hominem Veneri absolvit, sibi condemnat. Maluit videlicet homines peccare quam deos, se potius a Dione quod non licebat quam
23 Venerem quod non debebatur auferre. Quid ego hic nunc Sex. Pompeii Chlori testimonium recitem, qui causam Dionis egit, qui omnibus rebus interfuit, hominis honestissimi, tametsi civis Romanus virtutis causa iam diu est, tamen omnium Siculorum primi ac nobilissimi? quid ipsius Q. Caecilii Dionis, hominis

[a] *i.e.*, to the famous temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx in Western Sicily.

[b] Western Sicily.

[c] Verres made Dio pay £10,000 to escape having the whole legacy adjudged forfeit to Venus.

than for Ligus—so long as Sacerdos was praetor. Then who laid an information against him before Verres? No one, unless we are to suppose informers were waiting for Verres on the quay. VIII. While in or near Rome, Verres was told that a large legacy had come to a Sicilian named Dio; that the legatee was required to erect certain statues in the Forum; and that failing such erection the legacy was forfeit to Venus of Eryx.[a] Although they had been erected as the will required, the mention of Venus suggested to Verres sufficient opening for a false charge.
Accordingly, he put up a man to claim the legacy for 22
Venus of Eryx. No, the claim was not brought, as is usual in such cases, by the quaestor of the division[b] in which Mount Eryx lies: it was brought by a man called Naevius Turpio, Verres' agent and emissary, the most worthless of all the informers in that district, a man who had been sentenced for assault during the praetorship of Sacerdos. The case was indeed of such a kind that the praetor himself, in casting about for a dishonest claimant, could secure no one who was even slightly more respectable than this man. Dio won his case against Venus, but lost it against Verres.[c] Our judge naturally would have earth do wrong rather than heaven, and Dio be robbed immorally by him rather than illegally by Venus.

Need I now read you the evidence of Sextus 23
Pompeius Chlorus, who was Dio's advocate and directly acquainted with all the circumstances—a man of the highest character, whose merit has long earned him Roman citizenship, and is none the less to be reckoned the most important and distinguished of Sicilians? Or the evidence of the honoured and honourable Quintus Caecilius Dio himself? Or that

probatissimi ac pudentissimi? quid L. Caecilii, L. Liguris, T. Manlii, L. Caleni? quorum omnium testimoniis de hac Dionis pecunia confirmatum est. Dixit hoc idem M. Lucullus, se de his Dionis incommodis pro hospitio quod sibi cum eo esset iam
24 ante cognosse. Quid? Lucullus, qui tum in Macedonia fuit, melius haec cognovit quam tu, Hortensi, qui Romae fuisti, ad quem Dio confugit, qui de Dionis iniuriis gravissime per litteras cum Verre questus es? Nova tibi haec sunt, inopinata? nunc primum hoc aures tuae crimen accipiunt? Nihil ex Dione, nihil ex socru tua, femina primaria, Servilia, vetere Dionis hospita, audisti? Nonne multa mei testes quae tu scis nesciunt? nonne te mihi testem in hoc crimine eripuit non istius innocentia sed legis exceptio? Recita. TESTIMONIA LUCULLI, CHLORI, DIONIS. IX. Satisne vobis magnam pecuniam Venerius homo, qui e Chelidonis sinu in provinciam profectus esset, Veneris nomine quaesisse videtur?

25 Accipite aliam in minore pecunia non minus impudentem calumniam. Sosippus et Philocrates fratres sunt Agyrinenses. Horum pater abhinc duo et xx. annos est mortuus; in cuius testamento, quodam loco si commissum quid esset, multa erat Veneri. Ipso vicensimo anno, cum tot interea praetores, tot quaestores, tot calumniatores in provincia fuissent,

[a] The proper claimants on behalf of Venus (see § 22).

of Lucius Caecilius, Lucius Ligus, Titus Manlius, and Lucius Calenus? Everyone of these has testified to the facts about this money that Dio paid. There is similar evidence from Marcus Lucullus, who has stated that his earlier ties of hospitality with Dio led to his knowing what befell that unhappy man. And 24
further, did Lucullus, then in Macedonia, know more of all this than you did, Hortensius—you who were in Rome, you from whom Dio sought help, you who wrote to Verres earnestly protesting against Dio's wrongs? Is all this new and surprising to you? Does this charge now come to your ears for the first time? Did you hear nothing of it from Dio—nothing from that highly-respected lady your mother-in-law Servilia, so long Dio's guest and hostess? Are not many of the facts unknown to my witnesses and known to you? It is not your client's innocence, but the exemption the law gives you, that has deprived me of calling you yourself as a witness to the truth of this charge.—Read the evidence. *Evidence of Lucullus, Chlorus and Dio.* IX. Does the Court feel that this devotee of Venus, who came to his province fresh from Chelidon's arms, has used the name of Venus to secure enough for himself?

Let me now tell you of another false charge, not 25
less unscrupulous, though it involved a smaller sum of money. There are two brothers belonging to Agyrium, named Sosippus and Philocrates. Their father died twenty-two years ago. His will provided that, if a certain stipulation were not carried out, the estate should be forfeited to Venus. No less than twenty years later, after all the praetors and quaestors[a] and bringers of false charges who had meanwhile been in the province, the estate was

hereditas ab his Veneris nomine petita est. Causam Verres cognoscit; pecuniam per Volcatium accipit, fere ad HS cccc. milia, ab duobus fratribus—multorum testimonia audistis antea. Vicerunt Agyrinenses fratres ita ut egentes inanesque discederent.

26 X. At enim ad Verrem pecunia ista non pervenit. Quae est ista defensio? utrum asseveratur in hoc an temptatur? mihi enim res nova est. Verres calumniatorem apponebat, Verres adesse iubebat, Verres cognoscebat, Verres iudicabat, pecuniae maximae dabantur, qui dabant causas obtinebant. Tu mihi ita defendas: "Non est ista Verri numerata pecunia"? Adiuvo te; mei quoque testes idem dicunt; Volcatio dicunt sese dedisse. Quae vis erat in Volcatio tanta ut HS cccc. milia duobus hominibus auferret? Ecquis Volcatio, si sua sponte venisset, unam libellam dedisset? Veniat nunc, experiatur tecto recipiet nemo. At ego amplius dico. HS quadringentiens cepisse te arguo contra leges, nego tibi ipsi ullum nummum esse numeratum; sed cum ob tua decreta, ob edicta, ob imperata, ob iudicia pecuniae dabantur, non erat quaerendum cuius manu
27 numerarentur, sed cuius iniuria cogerentur. Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuae; praefecti, scribae, accensi, medici, haruspices, praecones manus erant tuae; ut quisque te maxime cognatione, affinitate,

claimed from the brothers on behalf of Venus. Verres tried the case; and nearly £4000 was paid over to him, through Volcatius, by the two brothers —you have already heard the evidence of a number of witnesses. The Agyrian brothers won their case —and left the court impoverished and broken men.

X. But, we are told, the money did not reach 26
Verres. What manner of defence is this? a serious plea, or an experiment? I ask, for it is something new in my experience. Verres put up the false claimant, Verres summoned the defendants, Verres tried the case, Verres pronounced judgement; a large sum of money was paid; the payers won the case. Is my opponent to reply: "The cash was not paid to Verres?" Quite true; my own witnesses endorse this statement; they tell us they paid it to Volcatius. And who was Volcatius, that he should be able to force £4000 out of two men? Would anyone whom Volcatius approached on his own responsibility have paid him one penny? Let him approach somebody now, and see what happens: no one will let him into his house. I will put the matter more plainly. I am proving that you have illegally acquired four *hundred* thousand pounds, and I will say that not one shilling of this has been directly paid to you personally; but since it was your decrees and edicts, your orders and judgements, that forced the money out of its owners, the point at issue is not whose hands received the cash, but whose tyranny compelled its payment. The members 27
of your select retinue were your hands; your managers, secretaries, orderlies, doctors, soothsayers, and criers were your hands; the more closely a man was connected with you by any tie of blood,

necessitudine aliqua attingebat, ita maxime manus tua putabatur; cohors tota illa, quae plus mali Siciliae dedit quam si centum cohortes fugitivorum fuissent, tua manus sine controversia fuit. Quicquid ab horum quopiam captum est, id non modo tibi datum sed tua manu numeratum iudicari necesse est. Nam si hanc defensionem probabitis, "Non accepit ipse," licet omnia de pecuniis repetundis iudicia tollatis. Nemo umquam reus tam nocens adducetur qui ista defensione non possit uti. Etenim cum Verres utatur, quis erit umquam posthac reus tam perditus qui non ad Q. Mucii innocentiam referatur si cum isto conferatur? Neque nunc tam mihi isti Verrem defendere videntur quam in Verre defensionis temptare rationem.

28 Qua de re, iudices, magno opere vobis providendum est; pertinet hoc ad summam rem publicam et ad existimationem ordinis nostri salutemque sociorum. Si enim innocentes existimari volumus, non solum nos sed etiam nostros comites praestare debemus. XI. Primum omnium opera danda est ut eos nobiscum educamus qui nostrae famae capitique consulant; deinde, si in hominibus eligendis nos spes amicitiae fefellerit, ut vindicemus, missos faciamus, semper ita vivamus ut rationem reddendam

[a] Here there is some play made with the military sense of *manus* as well as of *cohors*.

[b] Because the loss of our *caput* (civic rights) would be the penalty we might have to pay for their misconduct.

marriage, or friendship, the more he was reckoned one of your hands; the whole of the company that formed your staff, a company that has done Sicily more harm than if it had been a hundred companies of revolted slaves, were undeniably your hands.[a] Any sum appropriated by any of these persons must inevitably be judged to have been not only paid to you but paid in cash into your own hands. If this Court is to accept "He did not receive the money himself" as a valid defence, it may as well do away with all judicial investigation of extortion. There can never be any prosecution of any person, however guilty, who will not be able to employ this line of defence. Verres would employ it now; and can the guilt of any man who shall be prosecuted hereafter be so black that we shall not, when we measure it against the guilt of a Verres, class it with the innocence of a Scaevola? But indeed I feel that in this matter my opponents are aiming less at defending Verres himself than at trying in the person of Verres the effect of a new general line of defence.

Now here, gentlemen, is a danger against which 28 you must guard with care, a matter that vitally concerns the nation's interests, the good name of our Order and the welfare of our allies. If we would have ourselves believed innocent, we must demonstrate not only our own innocence, but that of the persons who form our staff. In the first place, we must do our best to take out with us men who uphold the safety of our reputation and our existence as citizens.[b] XI. In the next place, if having made our choice we find our confidence in our friends disappointed, we must punish them or dismiss them, living in perpetual expectation of being called to

nobis arbitremur. Africani est hoc, hominis liberalissimi—verum tamen ea liberalitas est probanda quae
29 sine periculo existimationis est, ut in illo fuit: cum ab eo quidam vetus assectator ex numero amicorum non impetraret uti se praefectum in Africam duceret, et id ferret moleste, "Noli" inquit "mirari si tu hoc a me non impetras: ego iam pridem ab eo cui meam existimationem caram fore arbitror peto ut mecum praefectus proficiscatur, et adhuc impetrare non possum." Etenim re vera multo magis est petendum ab hominibus, si salvi et honesti esse volumus, ut eant nobiscum in provinciam, quam in beneficii loco deferendum. Sed tu, cum et tuos amicos in provinciam quasi in praedam invitabas, et cum iis ac per eos praedabare, et eos in contione anulis aureis donabas, non statuebas tibi non solum de tuis sed etiam de illorum factis rationem esse reddendam?

30 Cum hos sibi quaestus constituisset magnos atque uberes ex his causis quas ipse instituerat cum consilio, hoc est cum sua cohorte, cognoscere, tum illud infinitum genus invenerat ad innumerabilem pecuniam corripiendam. XII. Dubium nemini est quin omnes omnium pecuniae positae sint in eorum potestate qui iudicia dant et eorum qui iudicant, quin nemo vestrum possit aedes suas, nemo fundum, nemo bona patria obtinere, si, cum haec a quopiam vestrum

account for our behaviour. Let me quote you a saying of that very courteous gentleman Scipio Africanus, only first observing that such courtesy is truly admirable in one whose good name is as secure as his was. One of his friends, an old adherent, 29
had asked to be taken to Africa as one of his cavalry officers, and was much offended at being refused. "Do not be surprised," said Scipio, "that I refuse consent to your request. I have for some time been asking a man, who would, as I believe, care much for my honour, to go with me as one of my officers; and he has, so far, refused his consent." And it is surely true that, if we would escape danger and discredit, there is far more need to entreat men to join our staff than to offer such a post as a favour. Yet when you, Verres, invited your friends to join your staff like members of a raiding party, when you carried out your raids in their company or by their means, when you presented them at public gatherings with gold rings, did you not assume that you would be called to account for their actions as well as your own?

Having now set on foot this method of making 30
for himself extensive and lucrative profits out of the cases which he heard himself with the assistance of his court—a court composed of his own staff—he next hit upon another device with unlimited possibilities of seizing vast sums of money. XII. It is plain to us all that every man's whole fortune lies at the mercy of those who appoint and those who compose our courts; that no man among you could remain the owner of his house, or the owner of his land, or the owner of his family property, if when his title thereto in any case were disputed, a dis-

petita sint, praetor improbus, cui nemo intercedere possit, det quem velit iudicem, iudex nequam et
31 levis quod praetor iusserit iudicet. Si vero illud quoque accedet, ut praetor in ea verba iudicium det ut vel L. Octavius Balbus iudex, homo et iuris et officii peritissimus, non possit aliter iudicare,—si iudicium sit eius modi: L. OCTAVIUS IUDEX ESTO: SI PARET FUNDUM CAPENATEM, QUO DE AGITUR, EX IURE QUIRITIUM P. SERVILII ESSE, NEQUE IS FUNDUS Q. CATULO RESTITUETUR: non necesse erit L. Octavio iudici cogere P. Servilium Q. Catulo fundum restituere, aut condemnare eum quem non oporteat? Eius modi totum ius praetorium, eius modi omnis res iudiciaria fuit in Sicilia per triennium Verre praetore. Decreta eius modi: SI NON ACCIPIT QUOD TE DEBERE DICIS, ACCUSES; SI PETIT, DUCAS. C. Fuficium duci iussit petitorem, L. Suettium, L. Racilium. Iudicia eius modi: qui cives Romani erant, si Siculi essent, cum Siculos eorum legibus dari oporteret; qui
32 Siculi, si cives Romani essent. Verum, ut totum genus amplectamini iudiciorum, prius iura Siculorum, deinde istius instituta cognoscite.

[a] The *formula* is of the normal type: the injustice lies in the barefaced substitution of Catulus for Servilius in the second clause. The formula would conclude with the normal direction to inflict a stated penalty on Servilius.

honest praetor, exercising his authority without appeal, were to appoint the members of the court as he chose, and a worthless and irresponsible court were to give the verdict that the praetor said must
be given. And if in addition to this the praetor 31
states the issue in such a form of words that not even a man so well versed in the law and in his duty as (shall we say) Lucius Octavius Balbus could, as a member of the court, alter the issue in his verdict—if the directions to the court are of this type, *Case to come before Lucius Octavius: If it shall appear that Publius Servilius is the lawful owner by Roman law of the estate at Capena in question And if the said estate shall not be restored to Quintus Catulus, etc.*,[a] will not Octavius, as judge of the Court, have to compel Servilius to "restore" the estate to Catulus, or failing that have to inflict an unjustified penalty? It was in this fashion, during the three years of Verres' praetorship, that the whole administration of justice was directed by the praetor and carried out by the courts. The orders made were of this type: *If he refuses to be satisfied with receiving what you state is all you owe him, you are authorized to prosecute him; and if he sues you further, to have him arrested.* Gaius Fuficius, Lucius Suettius, Lucius Racilius were plaintiffs whose arrest he thus ordered. His courts were composed, if the parties were Sicilians, of Roman citizens, though the law of the country required the appointment of Sicilians; and of
Sicilians, if the parties were Roman citizens. But 32
that you may be able to grasp the whole bearings of his judicial methods, let me first tell you about the legal rights of Sicily, and then about this man's innovations.

XIII. Siculi hoc iure sunt ut quod civis cum cive agat domi certet suis legibus; quod Siculus cum Siculo non eiusdem civitatis, ut de eo praetor iudices ex P. Rupilii decreto, quod is de decem legatorum sententia statuit, quam illi legem Rupiliam vocant, sortiatur. Quod privatus a populo petit aut populus a privato, senatus ex aliqua civitate qui iudicet datur, cum alternae civitates reiectae sunt. Quod civis Romanus a Siculo petit, Siculus iudex, quod Siculus a cive Romano, civis Romanus datur. Ceterarum rerum selecti iudices ex conventu civium Romanorum proponi solent. Inter aratores et decumanos lege frumentaria, quam Hieronicam appellant, iudicia fiunt.

33 Haec omnia isto praetore non modo perturbata sed plane et Siculis et civibus Romanis erepta sunt. Primum suae leges: quod civis cum civi ageret, aut eum iudicem quem commodum erat, praeconem, haruspicem, medicum suum dabat; aut, si legibus erat iudicium constitutum et ad civem suum iudicem venerant, libere civi iudicare non licebat. Edictum enim hominis cognoscite, quo edicto omnia iudicia redegerat in suam potestatem: SI QUI PERPERAM

[a] Proconsular governor of Sicily in 131, when this legislative commission drew up this legal "constitution" for Sicily.

[b] More literally "after a city on each side has been rejected." The praetor, it would seem, nominated the city council. If either party objected to his choice, he made another nomination. If the other party objected to this one, he made a third, which both were bound to accept.

[c] A periodical meeting of Roman citizens within a given area, for mutual convenience and business: the word may also signify the persons or the area.

XIII. The legal rights of the Sicilians are as follows. Cases between two citizens of the same city should be tried in that city's courts and by that city's laws. For cases between two Sicilians of different cities, the praetor should appoint a court, choosing its members by lot in accordance with the statutes known in Sicily as the Rupilian law, which were enacted by Publius Rupilius[a] on the recommendation of the Commission of Ten. When an individual sues a community or a community an individual, the Council of some city is appointed to try the case, each party being entitled to challenge one Council thus proposed.[b] A Sicilian is appointed to try any case where a Sicilian is sued by a Roman citizen, and a Roman citizen to try any case where a Roman citizen is sued by a Sicilian. In all other cases the regular procedure is to nominate the court from a panel[c] of Roman citizens resident in the district; except that cases between corn-farmers and collectors of tithe are tried as is directed by the corn laws known as the laws of Hiero.

All these rights, throughout this man's term of 33
office, were not simply disturbed but taken clean away from Sicilians and Roman citizens alike. To begin with the local law of each city: in cases between two citizens of the same city, Verres would either have them tried before anyone it suited him to appoint—some crier or soothsayer or doctor among his own following, or else, if the court was legally composed and the litigants did appear before a fellow-citizen of their own, the latter was allowed no freedom in deciding the case. Listen to this proclamation that the man made, bringing every court in the land into subjection to his own will: *I*

IUDICASSET, SE COGNITURUM; CUM COGNOSSET, ANIMADVERSURUM. Idque cum faciebat, nemo dubitabat quin, cum iudex alium de suo iudicio putaret iudicaturum, seque in eo capitis periculum aditurum, voluntatem spectaret eius quem statim de capite

34 suo putaret iudicaturum. Selecti ex conventu aut propositi ex negotiatoribus iudices nulli. Haec copia quam dico iudicum cohors, non Q. Scaevolae—qui tamen de cohorte sua dare non solebat—sed C. Verris. Cuius modi cohortem putatis hoc principe fuisse? Sic,[1] ubi videtis edictum SI QUID PERPERAM IUDICARIT SENATUS, eum quoque ostendam, si quando sit datus, coactu istius quod non senserit iudicasse. Ex lege Rupilia sortitio nulla, nisi cum nihil interesset istius; lege Hieronica iudicia plurimarum controversiarum sublata uno nomine omnia; de conventu ac negotiatoribus nulli iudices. Quantam potestatem habuerit videtis: quas res gesserit cognoscite.

35 XIV. Heraclius est, Hieronis filius, Syracusanus, homo in primis domi suae nobilis, et ante hunc praetorem vel pecuniosissimus Syracusanorum, nunc, nulla alia calamitate nisi istius avaritia atque iniuria,

[1] sicuti *MSS.*: sicubi *Peterson.*

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[a] Apparently temporary, as distinguished from permanent, residents in the district.

[b] *i.e.*, instead of the usual illegal substitute.

will bring to justice any man who shall give a dishonest legal decision, and will punish him accordingly. That meant, as everyone saw clearly, that the judge in any case must expect his judgement itself to be judged in turn, which might well mean his loss of all his own rights, and that he would therefore, with this hanging over him, follow out the wishes of a man whom he expected shortly to sit in judgement upon him. No judges were ever nominated from 34 the district panel, or from among the business men[a] in the place. It was the staff that, as I say, supplied the judges; and not the staff of a Scaevola—though it was not Scaevola's custom, in any case, to draw upon his staff for this purpose—but the staff of Gaius Verres, the character of which may readily be inferred from that of its chief. In the same way, where you find the proclamation *If any Council shall give any dishonest legal decision, etc.*, I shall prove that any Council too that was actually appointed[b] was forced by Verres into giving decisions of which it did not approve. No judges chosen by lot as the Rupilian law enjoins, except when that man had nothing to lose by it; all the numerous trials that should have occurred in accordance with the laws of Hiero swept away by a single order; no judges taken from the district panel or from among the business men. You see the extent of Verres' powers: let me now tell you what use he made of them.

XIV. Heraclius of Syracuse, the son of Hiero, is a 35
man who holds the highest rank among his own people and in the days before Verres' praetorship was perhaps the wealthiest man in Syracuse; though his sole disaster has been to encounter this greedy tyrant,

pauperrimus. Huic hereditas ad HS facile triciens
venit testamento propinqui sui Heraclii, plena domus
caelati argenti optimi multaeque stragulae vestis
pretiosorumque mancipiorum, quibus in rebus istius
cupiditates et insanias quis ignorat? Erat in ser-
mone res, magnam Heraclio pecuniam relictam; non
solum Heraclium divitem, sed etiam ornatum supel-
36 lectile, argento, veste, mancipiis futurum. Audit
haec etiam Verres, et primo illo suo leniore artificio
Heraclium aggredi conatur, ut eum roget inspicienda
quae non reddat. Deinde a quibusdam Syracusanis
admonetur—hi autem quidam erant affines istius,
quorum iste uxores numquam alienas existimavit,
Cleomenes et Aeschrio, qui quantum apud istum et
quam turpi de causa potuerint ex reliquis criminibus
intellegetis—hi, ut dico, hominem admonent rem
esse praeclaram, refertam omnibus rebus; ipsum
autem Heraclium hominem esse maiorem natu, non
promptissimum; eum praeter Marcellos patronum,
quem suo iure adire aut appellare posset, habere
neminem; esse in eo testamento quo ille heres esset
scriptus ut statuas in palaestra deberet ponere.
"Faciemus ut palaestritae negent ex testamento
esse positas, petant hereditatem, quod eam palaestrae
37 commissam esse dicant." Placuit ratio Verri: nam
hoc animo providebat, cum tanta hereditas in contro-
versiam venisset iudicioque peteretur, fieri non posse

[a] *Alienas* has the double sense of "strangers" and "belonging to other people."

[b] The patroni of all Syracusans since the city's capture.

to-day he is the poorest. By the will of a kinsman of
his own name, he received a legacy amounting to a
clear £30,000 and including a house fully furnished
with fine engraved silver plate, with an abundance of
tapestries, and with valuable slaves; and which of us
does not know this man's crazy passion for such things
as those? It was common talk that Heraclius had
had a large sum left to him; that he would be not only
wealthy, but richly supplied with furniture, plate,
woven fabrics and slaves. Verres too heard of this, 36
and made his first attack on Heraclius by his well-
known but comparatively mild method of asking him
for the loan of things to look at, with no intention of
returning them. It was then suggested to him by
certain citizens of Syracuse, Cleomenes and Aeschrio
—they were connected with him through their wives,
whom he always considered as quite his own[a]; and the
extent and disgraceful source of their influence with
him will appear plainly in connexion with other
charges—these persons, I say, pointed out to him that
the property was a very noble one, richly stocked with
all manner of good things; that Heraclius himself was
elderly and not very energetic; that apart from the
Marcelli[b] he had no special protector whom he could
approach or call to his help; and that in the will
leaving him the property there was a clause requiring
him to erect certain statues in the athletic park.
"Let us make the curators of the park declare that
the statues have not been erected in accordance with
the will, and let them claim the estate as being
forfeited to the park." The scheme pleased Verres: 37
he foresaw that, once the ownership of a great estate
like that became matter of dispute and a claim was
brought for its recovery, there was no doubt of his

ut sine praeda ipse discederet. Approbat consilium; auctor est ut quam primum agere incipiant, hominemque id aetatis minime litigiosum quam tumultuosissime adoriantur. Scribitur Heraclio dica. XV. Primo mirantur omnes improbitatem calumniae: deinde qui istum nossent partim suspicabantur, partim plane videbant, adiectum esse oculum hereditati. Interea dies advenit quo die sese ex instituto ac lege Rupilia dicas sortiturum Syracusis iste edixerat. Paratus ad hanc dicam sortiendam venerat; tum eum docet Heraclius non posse eo die sortiri, quod lex Rupilia vetaret diebus xxx. sortiri dicam quibus scripta esset; dies xxx. nondum fuerant. Sperabat Heraclius, si illum diem effugisset, ante alteram sortitionem Q. Arrium, quem provincia tum maxime exspectabat,
38 successurum. Iste omnibus dicis diem distulit, et eam diem constituit ut hanc Heraclii dicam sortiri post dies xxx. ex lege posset. Posteaquam ea dies venit, iste incipit simulare se velle sortiri. Heraclius cum advocatis adit et postulat ut sibi cum palaestritis, hoc est cum populo Syracusano, aequo iure disceptare liceat. Adversarii postulant ut in eam

[a] Lit. "would draw cases by lot," *i.e.* would select juries by lot for the respective cases.

[b] *Sortiri* implies the procedure which Heraclius demands, and which, as appears from the sequel, Verres from the first intended not to employ.

securing some plunder by the time all was over. He approved the plan; he proposed their setting to work without delay, and launching the most violent attack possible against the by no means litigious old gentleman. Heraclius was formally sued. XV. At first there was general astonishment at the wickedness of the false claim; then those who knew Verres began either to suspect or to see distinctly that he had cast his eyes on the estate. Meanwhile the day drew near on which he had announced that he would proceed to the hearing of cases[a] at Syracuse, in accordance with the established practice of the Rupilian law. He had arrived in court ready to begin the hearing of this case, when Heraclius represented to him that the hearing could not begin that day, because the Rupilian law forbade the hearing of cases to begin within thirty days from the institution of the suit; and thirty days had not yet elapsed. Heraclius hoped that, if he could only escape that day, Quintus Arrius, for whom the province was then waiting eagerly, would succeed Verres before the case could come on
again. Verres postponed the day for beginning the 38
whole session, and fixed a date late enough for him to begin the hearing of this suit against Heraclius after the legal thirty days had elapsed. When that day had arrived, he began a pretence of being willing to open it in the regular way.[b] Heraclius came forward with his supporters, and requested permission to plead his case against the curators—in effect, against the civic body of Syracuse—as citizen versus citizens.[c] His opponents requested that judges for this case should

[c] *i.e.*, before a court chosen (*a*) by lot, (*b*) from among his fellow-citizens only.

rem iudices dentur, ex iis civitatibus quae in id forum convenirent electi, qui Verri viderentur: Heraclius contra, ut iudices e lege Rupilia dentur, ut ab institutis superiorum, ab auctoritate senatus, ab iure
39 omnium Siculorum ne recedatur. XVI. Quid ego istius in iure dicundo libidinem et scelera demonstrem? quis vestrum non ex urbana iuris dictione cognovit? quis umquam isto praetore Chelidone invita lege agere potuit? Non istum, ut non neminem, provincia corrupit: idem fuit qui Romae. Cum id quod omnes intellegebant diceret Heraclius, ius esse certum Siculis inter se quo iure certarent, legem esse Rupiliam quam P. Rupilius consul de decem legatorum sententia dedisset, hanc omnes semper in Sicilia consules praetoresque servasse: negavit se iudices e lege Rupilia sortiturum, quinque iudices, quos commodum ipsi fuit, dedit.

40 Quid hoc homine facias? quod supplicium dignum libidine eius invenias? Praescriptum tibi cum esset, homo deterrime et impudentissime, quem ad modum iudices inter Siculos dares; cum imperatoris populi Romani auctoritas, legatorum decem, summorum hominum, dignitas, senatus consultum intercederet, cuius consulto P. Rupilius de x. legatorum sententia leges in Sicilia constituerat; cum omnes ante te

be selected, at the discretion of Verres, from all the cities belonging to that assize district. Heraclius urged in reply that the judges should be appointed as directed by the Rupilian law; that there should be no departure from the procedure, established by precedent and sanctioned by the Senate, to which all
Sicilians alike were entitled. XVI. Need I give you 39
any proof of the criminal way in which this man administers the law as he chooses? Did you not all see how he administered it in Rome? Was the proper legal procedure available at any time for anyone during his term of office, if Chelidon willed otherwise? Unlike some others, Verres was not morally ruined by his province—he was there what he had been in Rome. When Heraclius pleaded what all knew to be true, that Sicilians had fixed rights in their legal actions against one another; that the Rupilian law was in existence, instituted by the consul Publius Rupilius on the recommendation of the Commission of Ten; and that all consuls and all praetors in Sicily had maintained this law always: Verres thereupon announced that he would not cast lots as the Rupilian law directed, and appointed to try the case the five persons who suited him best.

How shall such a man be dealt with? What fit 40
punishment can be found for behaviour so outrageous? You barefaced ruffian! When you found laid down for you the method of appointing courts for purely Sicilian cases; when any other method was forbidden by the sanction of the chief magistrate of Rome, by the high authority of those ten eminent Commissioners, by that decree of the Senate instructing Rupilius to enact laws for Sicily in accord with the Commissioners' report; when all your predecessors had strictly main-

praetorem Rupilias leges et in ceteris rebus et in
iudiciis maxime servassent: tu ausus es pro nihilo
prae tua praeda tot res sanctissimas ducere? tibi
nulla lex fuit, nulla religio, nullus existimationis
pudor, nullus iudicii metus? nullius apud te gravis
auctoritas, nullum exemplum quod sequi velles?
41 Verum, ut institui dicere, quinque iudicibus nulla
lege, nullo instituto, nulla reiectione, nulla sorte, ex
libidine istius datis, non qui causam cognoscerent,
sed qui quod imperatum esset iudicarent, eo die
nihil actum est, adesse iubentur postridie. XVII.
Heraclius interea, cum omnes insidias fortunis suis
a praetore fieri videret, capit consilium de amicorum
et propinquorum sententia non adesse ad iudicium.
Itaque illa nocte Syracusis profugit. Iste postridie
mane, cum multo maturius quam umquam antea
surrexisset, iudices citari iubet. Ubi comperit
Heraclium non adesse, cogere incipit eos ut absentem
Heraclium condemnent. Illi eum commonefaciunt
ut, si sibi videatur, utatur instituto suo, nec cogat ante
horam decimam de absente secundum praesentem
42 iudicare; impetrant. Interea sane perturbatus et
ipse et eius amici et consiliarii moleste ferre coe-
perunt Heraclium profugisse; putabant absentis
damnationem, praesertim tantae pecuniae, multo
invidiosiorem fore quam si praesens damnatus esset.

tained the Rupilian statutes, and most strictly of all
those that relate to judicial procedure: then could
you dare to let all these solemn facts count for nothing
when balanced against the prospect of plunder for
yourself? Could law and conscience, sense of shame
and fear of judgement, be so utterly banished from your
mind? Could you let no man's opinion weigh with
you, no man's actions make you follow his example?
But to resume my narrative: defying the law and 41
the constitution, allowing no challenges and drawing
no lots, he appointed these five judges, choosing the
men he wanted, not to investigate the facts, but to
give the verdict he bade them give. That day noth-
ing was done; they were summoned for the day
following. XVII. Heraclius meanwhile, seeing that
every sort of treacherous device to undo him was
being employed by the chief magistrate, took the
advice of his friends and kinsmen, and resolved not to
appear in court. That night, accordingly, he fled
from Syracuse. The following morning Verres rose
much earlier than he had ever risen before, and
ordered the court to be summoned. On learning that
Heraclius was not present, he proceeded to direct the
judges to find against the defendant by default.
They requested him to be good enough to follow his
own regular practice, and to wait till four o'clock
before directing a judgement by default in favour of
the party present; and this he allowed. In the 42
interval he was a good deal upset, both he and his
friends and counsellors beginning to feel troubled
because of Heraclius's flight. They felt that a judge-
ment against him by default, especially with so large
a sum involved, would cause far more ill-feeling than
if he had been present when the judgement was given.

Eo accedebat quod iudices e lege Rupilia dati non erant; multo etiam rem turpiorem fore et iniquiorem visum iri intellegebant. Itaque hoc dum corrigere vult, apertior eius cupiditas improbitasque facta est. Nam illis quinque iudicibus uti sese negat; iubet, id quod initio lege Rupilia fieri oportuerat, citari Heraclium et eos qui dicam scripserant; ait se iudices ex lege velle sortiri. Quod ab eo pridie, cum multis lacrimis cum oraret atque obsecraret, Heraclius impetrare non potuerat, id ei postridie venit in mentem, ex lege Rupilia sortiri dicas oportere. Educit ex urna tres; his ut absentem Heraclium condemnent imperat; itaque condemnant.

43 Quae, malum, ista fuit amentia! Ecquando te rationem factorum tuorum redditurum putasti? ecquando his de rebus tales viros audituros existimasti? Petatur hereditas ea, quae nulla debetur, in praedam praetoris? interponatur nomen civitatis? imponatur honestae civitati turpissima persona calumniae? neque hoc solum, sed ita res agatur ut ne simulatio quidem aequitatis ulla adhibeatur? Nam, per deos immortales, quid interest utrum praetor imperet vique cogat aliquem de suis bonis omnibus decedere, an huiusce modi iudicium det, quo iudicio

There was the further fact that the court had not been appointed as required by the Rupilian law, which they saw would make the affair much more discreditable and increase its appearance of unfairness. So he tried to put this straight, and the result was a still clearer revelation of his greed and wickedness. He now declared that he would not employ the five judges already mentioned; he gave orders for what ought, by the Rupilian law, to have been done at the outset, the summoning of Heraclius and those who were bringing the action; and he said that he was prepared to appoint the court by lot as the law directed. What all the tears and prayers and entreaties of Heraclius had not been able to extract from him the day before, now on the following day occurred to him—that it was his duty to appoint courts in accordance with the Rupilian law. He drew three names out of the urn; he ordered these persons to find against Heraclius by default; and they found against him accordingly.

O you knave, O you fool! Did you never look to 43
be called to account for your actions? Did you never expect that this honourable Court would hear this story told? Shall an estate be claimed from its lawful owner to become the prey of a governor? Shall the name of a city be dragged in, and an honoured community be forced to play the foul part of a dishonest claimant? And not only this, but shall the affair be so conducted that not even the pretence of justice is brought into it anywhere? For what difference does it make, in heaven's name, whether the governor orders and forcibly compels a man to hand over his whole property, or so organizes the legal proceedings against him that thereby,

indicta causa fortunis omnibus everti necesse sit?

44 XVIII. Profecto enim negare non potes te ex lege Rupilia sortiri iudices debuisse, cum praesertim Heraclius id postularet. Sin illud dices, te Heraclii voluntate ab lege recessisse, ipse te impedies, ipse tua defensione implicabere. Quare enim primum ille adesse noluit, cum ex eo numero iudices haberet quos postularat? deinde tu cur post illius fugam iudices alios sortitus es, si eos qui erant antea dati utriusque dederas voluntate? Deinde ceteras dicas omnes illo foro M. Postumius quaestor sortitus est; hanc solam tu illo conventu reperiere sortitus.

45 Ergo, inquiet aliquis, donavit populo Syracusano illam hereditatem. Primum, si id confiteri velim, tamen istum condemnetis necesse est; neque enim permissum est ut impune nobis liceat, quod alicui eripuerimus, id alteri tradere. Verum ex ista reperietis hereditate ita istum praedatum ut perpauca occulte fecerit; populum Syracusanum in maximam invidiam sua infamia, alieno praemio pervenisse; paucos Syracusanos, eos qui nunc se publice laudationis causa venisse dicunt, et tunc participes praedae fuisse et nunc non ad istius laudationem, sed ad communem litium aestimationem venisse. Posteaquam

the man's case unheard, he is stripped of all he possesses? XVIII. Most certainly you cannot deny 44
that your duty was to appoint the court as the Rupilian law enjoins; all the more so because Heraclius applied for this to be done. And if you allege that you broke the law with his consent, you will be blocking your own path, and entangling yourself in your own defences. For why, in the first place, did Heraclius refuse to appear, if he had judges from the class for which he applied? And why did you in the next place appoint fresh judges by lot after his flight, if those appointed before were appointed with his approval as well as yours? And note further that all the other cases in that district were tried by Marcus Postumius the quaestor; this, it will be found, is the only case in those assizes which you tried yourself.

Well, well, someone may tell me, he gave the 45
estate to the citizens of Syracuse. Now to begin with, even were I willing to allow this to be true, you must declare the man guilty in spite of it, for we are not given free leave to rob one man of a thing and give it to another. But you will in fact find little concealment about the way in which he plundered that estate; you will find that the citizens of Syracuse have made themselves thoroughly disliked, taking only the discredit while the profits went elsewhere; and that a few individual Syracusans, being the persons who now tell us they are here officially to testify to the man's merits, shared in the plunder then, and have come here now, not to testify to his merits, but to find themselves assessed along with him for their share of the compensation to be paid. After judgement had been given

damnatus est absens, non solum illius hereditatis de qua ambigebatur, quae erat HS triciens, sed omnium bonorum paternorum ipsius Heraclii, quae non minor erat pecunia, palaestrae Syracusanorum, hoc est
46 Syracusanis, possessio traditur. Quae est ista praetura? Eripis hereditatem quae venerat a propinquo, venerat testamento, venerat legibus; quae bona is qui testamentum fecit huic Heraclio, aliquanto ante quam est mortuus, omnia utenda ac possidenda tradiderat; cuius hereditatis, cum ille aliquanto ante te praetorem esset mortuus, controversia fuerat nulla, mentionem fecerat nemo. XIX. Verum esto: eripe hereditatem propinquis, da palaestritis, praedare in bonis alienis nomine civitatis, everte leges, testamenta, voluntates mortuorum, iura vivorum: num etiam patriis Heraclium bonis exturbare oportuit? Qui simul ac profugit, quam impudenter, quam palam, quam acerbe, di immortales, illa bona direpta sunt! quam illa res calamitosa Heraclio, quaestuosa Verri, turpis Syracusanis, miseranda omnibus videbatur! Nam illud quidem statim curatur, ut quicquid caelati argenti fuit in illis bonis ad istum deferatur, quicquid Corinthiorum vasorum, stragulae vestis; haec nemo dubitabat quin non modo ex illa domo capta et oppressa, verum

against Heraclius by default, the park of Syracuse—in other words, the people of Syracuse—received possession not only of the estate in question, his inherited estate, worth £30,000, but also of the whole of his own family property, which was worth
at least as much more. There is the way to govern 46
a country! You rob the man of an estate that had been left to him by a relative, left to him by will, left to him legally; a property which Heraclius, the maker of the will, some time before his death, had conveyed complete to this Heraclius for his enjoyment and possession; an inheritance concerning which, though the testator had died long before you came into office, no dispute whatsoever had occurred, no suggestion of such a thing had been made by anyone. XIX. But never mind that. Rob the next-of-kin of the legacy, present it to the curators of the park; pounce upon another man's property in the name of his fellow-citizens; overthrow the sanctions of law and the rights of bequest, the wishes of the dead and the just claims of the living, if you will: but must you also force Heraclius to give up all that his own father left him? No sooner had he fled than it was all carried off; and, God help us, with what shameless publicity and cruelty! What a picture! Heraclius groaning under his calamity, Verres gloating over his profits, the Syracusans blushing with shame, men's hearts everywhere filled with distress! For one thing was promptly seen to—the conveyance to Verres of all the family engraved silver plate and Corinthian brass and tapestries; and no one could doubt that such things would have to be gathered and brought to him not only from that one captured and de-

ex tota provincia, ad istum comportari necesse esset. Mancipia quae voluit abduxit, alia divisit; auctio facta est, in qua cohors istius invicta dominata est.
47 Verum illud est praeclarum. Syracusani qui praefuerant his Heraclii bonis verbo redigendis, re dispertiendis, reddebant eorum negotiorum rationem in senatu. Dicebant scyphorum paria complura, hydrias argenteas pretiosas, vestem stragulam multam, mancipia pretiosa data esse Verri. Dicebant quantum cuique eius iussu nummorum esset datum; gemebant Syracusani, sed tamen patiebantur. Repente recitatur uno nomine HS ccc. iussu praetoris data. Fit maximus clamor omnium, non modo optimi cuiusque, neque eorum quibus indignum semper visum erat bona privati populi nomine per summam iniuriam erepta; verum etiam ipsi illi auctores iniuriae et ex aliqua particula socii praedae ac rapinarum clamare coeperunt sibi ut haberet hereditatem. Tantus in curia clamor factus est ut
48 populus concurreret. XX. Res ab omni conventu cognita celeriter isti domum nuntiatur. Homo inimicus iis qui recitassent, hostis omnibus qui acclamassent, exarsit iracundia ac stomacho. Verum tamen fuit tum sui dissimilis. Nostis os hominis,

[a] The auction was a pretext for further appropriations by Verres. His staff, who would not have to pay, could always outbid genuine purchasers.

[b] As bribes to Verres' followers: these, and the presents (nominal or real) to Verres himself, are a condition of the town's being allowed to have the rest of the estate.

vastated house but from the length and breadth of the province. He carried off such of the slaves as he fancied, and sold the others in lots; an auction took place, at which his unconquerable followers had everything at their mercy.[a] One incident is truly impressive. The Syracusans who were in 47
charge of this business of nominally selling and really giving away this property of Heraclius submitted a report upon it to their Senate. They stated that several pairs of goblets, some costly silver jugs, a large quantity of fabrics, and some valuable slaves, had been presented to Verres. They stated the sums of money paid[b] by his orders to various persons: groans were heard from the citizens at this, but no protest was made. Suddenly there was read out the single item of a payment of £3000 made by the praetor's orders. This provoked a loud and general uproar, and not only from all the honest people, or those who had all the while felt it to be horrible that a private person should with such flagrant injustice be robbed of his property in the name of the community: even the men who had actually supported the outrage, and who to some small extent had shared in the looting and plundering, began to call out, "Let him keep the estate for himself." The uproar in the Senate-house was so violent that a crowd of the townsfolk was attracted.
XX. The news spread through the district, and word 48
of it was quickly brought to Verres' house Filled with personal spite against those who made the report, and general hostility towards all who had joined in the uproar, the fellow boiled over with furious indignation. Nevertheless, he did not on that occasion behave like his usual self. You know

nostis audaciam; tamen tum rumore populi et clamore et manifesto furto grandis pecuniae perturbatus est. Ubi se collegit, vocat ad se Syracusanos; qui non posset negare ab illis pecuniam datam, non quaesivit procul alicunde (neque enim probaret), sed proximum, paene alterum filium, quem illam pecuniam diceret abstulisse; ostendit se reddere coacturum. Qui posteaquam id audivit, habuit et dignitatis et aetatis et nobilitatis suae rationem; verba apud senatum fecit, docuit ad se nihil pertinere, de isto id quod omnes videbant neque ille quidem obscure locutus est. Itaque illi Syracusani statuam postea statuerunt; et is, ut primum potuit, istum
49 reliquit de provinciaque decessit. Et tamen aiunt eum queri solere non numquam se miserum quod non suis, sed suorum, peccatis criminibusque prematur. Triennium provinciam obtinuisti; gener, lectus adulescens, unum annum tecum fuit; sodales, viri fortes, legati tui primo anno te reliquerunt; unus legatus P. Tadius qui erat reliquus non ita multum tecum fuit; qui si semper una fuisset, tamen summa cura cum tuae, tum multo etiam magis suae famae pepercisset. Quid est quod tu alios accuses? quid est quam ob rem putes te tuam culpam non modo derivare in aliquem sed communicare cum altero
50 posse? Numerantur illa HS ccc. Syracusanis. Ea

[a] His son-in-law, not otherwise known.

his impudence; you know his audacity: but he was now thoroughly alarmed by the public talk and clamour and the revelation of his theft of that huge sum of money. Pulling himself together, he called a meeting of the citizens. Unable to deny their having paid that money, he did not look far afield, since no one would have believed him, but fixed on his nearest connexion,[a] almost a second son of his, to accuse of appropriating the amount, and declared that he would force him to pay it back. The other, on hearing this, behaved as became his rank, age, and birth. He made a speech in the Senate, showing that he was clear of the business, and himself referred not obscurely to what everyone knew to be the truth about Verres. The Syracusans, owing to this, later set up a statue in his honour; and as soon as he could he abandoned Verres and left the province.
And yet they tell us that Verres used now and then 49
to complain of his ill-luck in suffering from misdeeds and charges that concerned not him but those who belonged to him!—You ruled Sicily for three years; and your excellent young son-in-law was there with you for one year; intimate friends, gentlemen of honour, even your assistant-governors deserted you in your first year; Publius Tadius, the one assistant-governor who did stay behind, spent comparatively little time in your company, and if he had spent all his time there would have taken great care not to injure your reputation, and still more not to injure his own. What ground have you for accusing others? What reason have you for believing that you can transfer the blame of your offences to someone else, or even share it with any second person? That £3000 was refunded to the Syra- 50

quem ad modum ad istum postea per pseudothyrum revertantur tabulis vobis testibusque, iudices, planum faciam

XXI. Ex hac iniquitate istius et improbitate, iudices, quod praeda ex illis bonis ad multos Syracusanos invito populo senatuque Syracusano venerat, illa scelera per Theomnastum et Aeschrionem et Dionysodorum et Cleomenem invitissima civitate illa facta sunt: primum ut urbs tota spoliaretur, qua de re alius mihi locus ad dicendum est constitutus; ut omnia signa iste per eos homines quos nominavi, omne ebur ex aedibus sacris, omnes undique tabulas pictas, deorum denique simulacra quae vellet auferret: deinde ut in curia Syracusis, quem locum illi βουλευτήριον nomine appellant, honestissimo loco et apud illos clarissimo, ubi illius ipsius M. Marcelli, qui eum Syracusanis locum, quem eripere belli ac victoriae lege posset, conservavit ac reddidit, statua ex aere facta est, ibi inauratam istius et alteram filio statuam ponerent, ut, dum istius hominis memoria maneret, senatus Syracusanus sine lacrimis et gemitu in curia
51 esse non posset. Per eosdem istius furtorum iniuriarum uxorumque socios istius imperio Syracusis Marcellia tolluntur, maximo gemitu luctuque civitatis; quem illi diem festum cum recentibus beneficiis

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[a] Or perhaps "led to."

[b] Theomnastus and his fellows: or perhaps the citizen body, under compulsion.

[c] See note on § 8.

cusans: how it subsequently came back to Verres by a back door I will show you, gentlemen, by means of documentary and personal evidence.

XXI. This piece of wicked injustice, gentlemen—this bestowal of that plundered property on a number of Syracusan individuals against the wishes of the Syracusan Senate and people—is well matched by [a] the crimes committed through Theomnastus and Aeschrio, Dionysodorus and Cleomenes, crimes which Syracuse resented bitterly. To begin with, as I intend to tell you in another part of my speech, the whole city was stripped of its treasures; with the help of the persons whom I have named, he carried off from the temples in the city every statue, every ivory carving, every painting, and every sacred image on which he chose to lay his hands. And then, what happened in the Senate-house at Syracuse — the *bouleuterion*, as they call it there? A revered spot, full of glorious memories for them; a place where stands the bronze statue of the great Marcus Marcellus himself, the man who might, by the custom of war and conquest, have taken the place away from them, but instead of that protected and restored it. In that place they [b] erected a gilded statue of Verres, and another in honour of his son, that, so long as their memory of the man lasted, the senators of Syracuse might be unable to sit in their Senate-house without tears and groans. With the 51
help of these same men, who shared with him thefts, outrages, and wives, and by his orders, the Marcellus Festival was suppressed at Syracuse, to the grief and distress of the whole community. This festival was being partly kept as an acknowledgement of the recent favours shown them by Gaius Marcellus,[c]

C. Marcelli debitum reddebant, tum generi, nomini, familiae Marcellorum maxima voluntate tribuebant. Mithridates in Asia, cum eam provinciam totam occupasset, Mucia non sustulit; hostis, et hostis in ceteris rebus nimis ferus et immanis, tamen honorem hominis deorum religione consecratum violare noluit. Tu Syracusanos unum diem festum Marcellis impertire noluisti, per quos illi adepti sunt ut ceteros
52 dies festos agitare possent. At vero praeclarum diem illis reposuisti Verria ut agerent, et ut ad eum diem quae sacris epulisque opus essent in complures annos locarentur. Iam in tanta istius impudentia remittendum aliquid videtur, ne omnia contendamus, ne omnia cum dolore agere videamur. Nam me dies, vox, latera deficiant si hoc nunc vociferari velim, quam miserum indignumque sit istius nomine apud eos diem festum esse qui se istius opera funditus exstinctos esse arbitrentur. O Verria praeclara! quo accessisti, quaeso, quo non attuleris tecum istum diem! Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adiisti, quod fanum denique, quod non eversum atque extersum reliqueris? Quare appellentur sane ista Verria, quae non ex nomine sed ex manibus naturaque tua constituta esse videantur.

53 XXII. Quam facile serpat iniuria et peccandi consuetudo, quam non facile reprimatur, videte, iudices.

[a] With allusion to *verrere* = "to sweep" (*cf.* §§ 18, 19): "the Spring Cleaning Festival."

and partly offered as a cordial tribute of respect to the great Marcellus family as a whole. When Mithridates overran Asia from end to end, he did not suppress the Scaevola Festival; though he was our enemy, and in all but this a most savage and inhuman enemy, yet upon that memorial of human greatness, hallowed by the sanctions of religion, he would lay no hand. And then would such a man as you not let the Syracusans offer a single day of festival to the Marcelli, to whom alone they owe it that they have been able to keep all their other festivals? Ah 52
yes, and truly glorious is the Verres Festival you have given them to keep instead! What a day for which to make contracts, years in advance, for supplying the materials of its ceremonies and banquets! Well, in dealing with impudence so colossal, I feel that I must calm myself a little; the strain must sometimes be relieved; indignation must sometimes be imagined not to inspire my words. The truth is that time, voice, and lung-power would fail me, were I to seek now to express in speech the pitiful shamefulness of this festival, kept in Verres' honour by people who believe Verres responsible for the utter ruin that has engulfed them. Ha, the Verres Festival—splendid! Where, I would know, have you ever gone without bringing your feast-day along with you? What house or town or sanctuary did you ever visit without verily straining and draining it dry? Oh, by all means let your festival be called the Verria [a]: we can see that it was established to celebrate not your name but your greedy hands and grasping character.

XXII. Now mark, gentlemen, how easily injustice 53
spreads, how hard it is to check the habit of doing

Bidis oppidum est tenue sane non longe a Syracusis. Hic longe primus civitatis est Epicrates quidam. Huic hereditas HS quingentorum milium venerat a muliere quadam propinqua, atque ita propinqua ut ea etiamsi intestata esset mortua Epicratem Bidinorum legibus heredem esse oporteret. Recens erat illa res quam ante demonstravi de Heraclio Syracusano, qui bona non perdidisset nisi ei venisset hereditas. Huic quoque Epicrati venerat, ut dixi, hereditas.
54 Cogitare coeperunt eius inimici nihilo minus eodem praetore hunc everti bonis posse quo Heraclius esset eversus. Rem occulte instituunt, ad Verrem per eius interpretes deferunt. Ita causa componitur ut item palaestritae Bidenses peterent ab Epicrate hereditatem, quem ad modum palaestritae Syracusani ab Heraclio petivissent. Numquam vos praetorem tam palaestricum vidistis; verum ita palaestritas defendebat ut ab illis ipse unctior abiret. Qui statim, quod praesens esset, iubet cuidam amicorum suorum nu-
55 merari HS LXXX. Res occultari satis non potuit; per quendam eorum qui interfuerant fit Epicrates certior. Primo neglegere et contemnere coepit, quod causa prorsus quod disputari posset nihil habebat. Deinde cum de Heraclio cogitaret et istius libidinem nosset, commodissimum putavit esse de provincia clam abire; itaque fecit, profectus est Regium. XXIII. Quod ubi auditum est, aestuare illi qui pecuniam dederant,

[a] Lit. "he would come away from them more anointed (*i.e.* richer) than before"; alluding to the oiling practised by athletes.

wrong. Bidis is a quite small town not far from Syracuse. Much its most important citizen is a certain Epicrates. This man inherited £5000 from a female relative; so near a relative that, even had she died intestate, Epicrates would by the laws of Bidis have been her heir. It was not long after the affair, already described to you, of Heraclius the Syracusan, who was ruined simply by having a legacy left him. This man Epicrates also, as I have said, had a legacy
left him. His enemies began to reflect that the 54
praetor under whom Heraclius had been ejected from his property was still in office, and that it was equally possible to eject Epicrates from his. Setting secretly to work, they sent word of the business to Verres through his agents. A lawsuit was concocted in which the claimants were again curators of an athletic park; those of Bidis were to claim the legacy of Epicrates just as those of Syracuse had claimed that of Heraclius. Never have you come across a praetor so devoted to athletics; though his patronage of these curators would usually, to be sure, end in a financial success[a] for himself. He promptly demanded a cash payment in advance of £800 to one
of his friends. The secret could not be kept properly, 55
and Epicrates received information through one of the persons concerned. At first he was disposed not to do anything about the matter or take it seriously, his case being so overwhelmingly strong. Presently he remembered Heraclius, and seeing what an unprincipled rascal Verres was, concluded that his best plan was to leave the province secretly; he did so accordingly, and went off to Regium. XXIII. This becoming known, those who had paid the money were much upset, believing that the action must drop if

putare nihil agi posse absente Epicrate. Nam Heraclius tamen adfuerat, cum primo sunt dati iudices: de hoc qui antequam aditum in ius esset, antequam mentio denique controversiae facta esset ulla, discessisset, putabant nihil agi posse. Homines Regium proficiscuntur, Epicratem conveniunt; demonstrant id quod ille sciebat, se HS LXXX. dedisse; rogant eum ut sibi id quod ab ipsis abisset pecuniae curet, ab sese caveat, quemadmodum velit, de illa hereditate
56 cum Epicrate neminem esse acturum. Epicrates homines multis verbis ab se male acceptos dimittit. Redeunt illi Regio Syracusas; queri cum multis, ut fit, incipiunt se HS LXXX. nummum frustra dedisse. Res percrebruit et in ore atque sermone omnium coepit esse. Verres refert illam suam Syracusanam; ait se velle de illis HS LXXX. cognoscere; advocat multos. Dicunt Bidini Volcatio se dedisse; illud non addunt, iussu istius. Volcatium vocat, pecuniam referri imperat. Volcatius animo aequissimo nummos affert, qui nihil amitteret, reddit inspectantibus
57 multis: Bidini nummos auferunt. Dicet aliquis, Quid ergo in hoc Verrem reprehendis, qui non modo ipse fur non est, sed ne alium quidem passus est esse? Attendite; iam intellegetis hanc pecuniam, quae via modo visa est exire ab isto, eam[1] semita revertisse.

[1] eadem *most* MSS.: eodem *Peterson*: eam *Mueller with one good* MS.

Epicrates did not appear; for Heraclius had at least been in court when the judges in his case were first appointed; whereas Epicrates had gone off before the suit was instituted, in fact before anything about a counterclaim had been said, and so they believed that the action could not go forward. They set sail for Regium, and there saw Epicrates; they told him what he already knew, that they had paid over £800; they suggested that he should make good to them the sum they had themselves parted with, and take security from them, in whatever form he preferred, that no one should bring an action against him in connexion with the legacy. Epicrates made them a long 56
and angry reply, and turned them away. They went back from Regium to Syracuse, and began to bewail, in the hearing of a number of persons, as people will do, that they had paid away £800 for nothing. The story got about, and began to be mentioned and discussed everywhere. Verres revived his performance at Syracuse, said that he proposed to investigate this story of the £800, and summoned a number of persons to attend. The men from Bidis declared they had paid Volcatius the money—not adding "by Verres' orders." Verres sent for Volcatius and ordered repayment to be made. Volcatius, who was losing nothing by this, brought along the money very contentedly and repaid it before numerous witnesses; and the men from Bidis went off with it. "Well," 57
someone will say, "what fault have you to find with Verres here, where he has not only been no thief himself, but has even prevented theft by another man?" Wait; you will shortly be made aware that the money you have just seen escape him along the high road returned to him by a back lane. For what

Quid enim debuit praetor facere, cum consilio re cognita cum comperisset suum comitem iuris, decreti, iudicii corrumpendi causa—qua in re ipsius praetoris caput existimatioque ageretur—pecuniam accepisse, Bidinos autem pecuniam contra praetoris famam ac fortunas dedisse? non et in eum qui accepisset animadvertisset, et in eos qui dedissent? Tu qui institueras in eos animadvertere qui perperam iudicassent, quod saepe per imprudentiam fit, hos pateris impune discedere qui ob tuum decretum, ob tuum iudicium pecuniam aut dandam aut accipiendam
58 putarant? XXIV. Volcatius idem apud te postea fuit, eques Romanus, tanta accepta ignominia; nam quid est turpius ingenuo, quid minus libero dignum, quam in conventu maximo cogi a magistratu furtum reddere? Qui si eo animo esset quo non modo eques Romanus sed quivis liber debet esse, aspicere te postea non potuisset; inimicus, hostis esset tanta contumelia accepta, nisi tecum tum collusisset et tuae potius existimationi servisset quam suae. Qui quam tibi amicus non modo tum fuerit quam diu tecum in provincia fuit, verum etiam nunc sit cum iam a ceteris amicis relictus es, et tu intellegis et nos existimare possumus. An hoc solum argumentum est nihil isto imprudente factum, quod Volcatius ei non succensuit? quod iste neque in Volcatium neque in Bidinos anim-
59 advertit? Est magnum argumentum; verum illud

was he bound to do as praetor, when he found, after investigation in court, that a member of his own staff had been bribed to secure an unjust verdict in a lawsuit—a thing that might mean the praetor's own disfranchisement and disgrace—and that the people of Bidis by giving the bribe had imperilled the praetor's representation and fortunes? Would he not have punished both the man who took the bribe and the men who gave it? You announced your intention of punishing those who should make improper awards, a thing often done inadvertently; do you let persons escape unpunished who have been capable of either giving or accepting bribes to upset your own
ordinances and your own decisions? XXIV. Vol- 58
catius kept his position with you just as before, in spite of the shameful humiliation of his honour as a knight of Rome—for what can be more shameful for a gentleman, what more degrading for a free man, than to be forced by a magistrate to restore stolen goods before the eyes of a large audience? Had he had the feelings of a knight, nay, those of the humblest free man, he could not, after such treatment, have looked you in the face; he must have hated you, privately and publicly, for inflicting such disgrace upon him, had he not been your accomplice at the time and worked to uphold your honour more than his own. How close a friend of yours he has continued, not only as long as he was with you in Sicily, but even now when you are at last deserted by your other friends, you know well and we can infer. But have we no proof that he was in the whole secret except that Volcatius was not angry with him and he punished neither Volcatius or the people of Bidis?
That proves much; but the final proof is this. To 59

maximum, quod illis ipsis Bidinis, quibus iste iratus
esse debuit, a quibus comperit, quod iure agere cum
Epicrate nihil possent etiamsi adesset, idcirco suum
decretum pecunia esse temptatum: iis, inquam,
ipsis non modo illam hereditatem quae Epicrati
venerat, sed, ut in Heraclio Syracusano, item in hoc
(paulo etiam atrocius, quod Epicrates appellatus
omnino non erat) bona patria fortunasque eius
Bidinis tradidit. Ostendit enim novo modo, si quis
quid de absente peteret, se auditurum. Adeunt
Bidini, petunt hereditatem; procuratores postulant
ut se ad leges suas reiciat aut ex lege Rupilia dicam
scribi iubeat. Adversarii non audebant contra dicere;
exitus nullus reperiebatur. Insimulant hominem
fraudandi causa discessisse: postulant ut bona
60 possidere iubeat. Debebat Epicrates nullum num-
mum nemini; amici si quis quid peteret iudicium se
passuros, iudicatum solvi satis daturos esse dicebant.
XXV. Cum omnia consilia frigerent, admonitu istius
insimulare coeperunt Epicratem litteras publicas cor-
rupisse, a qua suspicione ille aberat plurimum;
actionem eius rei postulant. Amici recusare ne quod
iudicium neve ipsius cognitio, illo absente, de existi-
matione eius constitueretur; et simul idem illud

these very people of Bidis with whom he was bound
to be angry, whom he had found trying to secure by
bribery a corrupt decision from him just because they
had no legal case against Epicrates even if he should
appear—to these very people, I repeat, he gave
possession not merely of the legacy left to Epicrates,
but, treating him as he had treated Heraclius of
Syracuse (only a little more foully, since Epicrates
had never been summoned to appear at all), he gave
these people of Bidis the money and property in-
herited by Epicrates from his father. He showed in
a new way that he was ready to try any claims against
an absent man. The people of Bidis appeared and
claimed the legacy: Epicrates' representatives re-
quested that he would either leave the case to be
settled by local law or direct a suit to be instituted as
required by the Rupilian law. The other side dared
not oppose this: they could see no way of escape.
Then they alleged that the defendant had absconded
to escape paying his creditors, and requested an order
for themselves to receive possession of his estate.
Epicrates owed no one a penny: his friends declared 60
that they would answer in court any claim made
against him, and would give guarantees for the pay-
ment of any such claim allowed by the court. XXV.
The whole conspiracy was hanging fire, when at
Verres' suggestion the plaintiffs started an allegation
that Epicrates had forged the public records—an
offence of which there was not the least ground for
suspecting him—and applied for permission to prose-
cute. His friends urged that in his absence no pro-
ceedings, no investigation by Verres affecting his
character should be allowed to take place, and at the
same time continued to reiterate their demand that

postulare non desistebant, ut se ad leges suas reiceret.
61 Iste amplam occasionem[1] nactus, ubi videt esse aliquid quod amici absente Epicrate nollent defendere, asseverat se eius rei in primis actionem esse daturum. Cum omnes perspicerent ad istum non modo illos nummos qui per simulationem ab isto exierant revertisse, sed multo etiam plures eum postea nummos abstulisse, amici Epicratem defendere destiterunt. Iste Epicratis bona Bidinos omnia possidere et sibi habere iussit; ad illa HS D. milia hereditaria accessit ipsius antiqua HS quindeciens pecunia. Utrum res ab initio ita ducta est, an ad extremum ita perducta, an ita parva est pecunia, an is homo Verres, ut haec quae dixi gratis facta esse videantur?

62 Hic nunc de miseria Siculorum, iudices, audite. Et Heraclius ille Syracusanus et hic Bidinus Epicrates expulsi bonis omnibus Romam venerunt: sordidati, maxima barba et capillo, Romae biennium prope fuerunt. Cum L. Metellus in provinciam profectus est, tum isti bene commendati cum Metello una proficiscuntur. Metellus, simul ac venit Syracusas, utrumque rescidit, et de Epicrate et de Heraclio. In utriusque bonis nihil erat quod restitui posset,
63 nisi si quid moveri loco non potuerat. XXVI. Fecerat hoc egregie primo adventu Metellus, ut omnes istius iniurias, quas modo posset, rescinderet et irritas faceret. Quod Heraclium restitui iusserat ac non restituebatur, quisquis erat eductus senator Syra-

[1] *The best* MSS. *omit* occasionem, *the worst read* amplam occasionem calumniae: amplam *if read alone* (*so Peterson, Mueller*) *may be a substantive meaning* "*hold*" *or* "*grasp.*"

Verres would refer the matter to be dealt with under their own laws. This gave Verres a good opening; 61
he had now found a charge against which Epicrates' friends were not ready to defend him in his absence, and declared that he would admit the case for trial at an early date. As everyone saw clearly not only that the cash with which he had ostensibly parted had come back to him, but that he had subsequently laid hands on a good deal more, Epicrates' friends abandoned his defence. Verres ordered the people of Bidis to have possession and ownership of the whole of Epicrates' property, his own original £15,000 as well as the £5000 legacy. Now had this business such an origin—was it so carried through to its conclusion—was the amount involved so small—is Verres so honest a man—that we can suppose the actions I have recounted to have been done for nothing?

Let me now show you, gentlemen, the unhappy 62
condition of these Sicilians. Deprived of all they had, both Heraclius of Syracuse and Epicrates of Bidis came to Rome; and there, wearing the mean clothes and the unshorn hair and beards of men in distress, they remained for nearly two years. When Lucius Metellus left for the province, they left with him, recommended strongly to his protection. As soon as he reached Syracuse, he cancelled both judgements, that against Epicrates and that against Heraclius. Nothing in either estate was left that could be restored, except what it had been impossible to remove; XXVI. but Metellus behaved admirably, 63
on his first arrival, in cancelling and annulling all the oppressive acts of Verres, so far as he could do so. His orders for the re-instatement of Heraclius not being obeyed, he ordered the arrest of all

cusanus ab Heraclio, duci iubebat, itaque permulti ducti sunt. Epicrates quidem continuo restitutus est. Alia iudicia Lilybaei, alia Agrigenti, alia Panhormi restituta sunt. Census qui isto praetore sunt habiti non servaturum se Metellus ostenderat: decumas quas iste contra legem Hieronicam vendiderat sese venditurum Hieronica lege edixerat. Omnia erant Metelli eius modi ut non tam suam praeturam gerere quam istius praeturam retexere videretur. Simul
64 atque ego in Siciliam veni, mutatus est. Venerat ad eum illo biduo Laetilius quidam, homo non alienus a litteris, itaque eo iste tabellario semper usus est. Is epistulas complures attulerat, in his unam domo quae totum immutarat hominem. Repente coepit dicere se omnia Verris causa velle, sibi cum eo amicitiam cognationemque esse. Mirabantur omnes hoc ei tum denique in mentem venisse, posteaquam tam multis eum factis decretisque iugulasset; erant qui putarent Laetilium legatum a Verre venisse qui gratiam amicitiam cognationemque commemoraret. Ex illo tempore a civitatibus laudationes petere, testes non solum deterrere verbis sed etiam vi retinere coepit. Quod nisi ego meo adventu illius conatus aliquantum repressissem, et apud Siculos non Metelli sed Glabrionis litteris ac lege pugnassem, tam multos huc

Syracusan senators prosecuted on this account by Heraclius, and a number of them were arrested accordingly. Epicrates was re-instated promptly. At Lilybaeum, at Agrigentum, at Panhormus, various judgements were cancelled by restitution orders. Metellus gave notice that he would not regard as valid the assessments made during Verres' praetorship, and proclaimed his intention of selling in accordance with the law of Hiero the rights of tithe collection which Verres had sold in defiance of that law. All his actions were such that he seemed less to be doing his own work as praetor than undoing the work of his predecessor. No sooner had I reached Sicily than he became another man. Within 64
two days of that time he had had a visit from one Laetilius, a person not unversed in letters, and for that reason employed regularly by Verres to carry his mails. Laetilius had brought several letters, including one from home that had at once changed Metellus completely. He began forthwith to tell people that he was ready to do anything for Verres, that he was Verres' friend and kinsman. There was general surprise at his thinking of this at this late hour, after having officially done and ordered so much to wreck him; some there were who suspected that Laetilius had been dispatched by Verres to remind Metellus that Verres was his well-wisher, friend, and relative. From that time onward he began to urge the different cities to furnish eulogies, and not only to intimidate my witnesses but forcibly to prevent their going. Had I not done something to counter his exertions by my visits, had I not, in dealing with the Sicilians, been armed with the written legal authority of Glabrio instead of that of

65 evocare non potuissem. XXVII. Verum quod institui dicere, miserias cognoscite sociorum. Heraclius ille et Epicrates longe mihi obviam cum suis omnibus processerunt, venienti Syracusas egerunt gratias flentes, Romam decedere mecum cupiverunt. Quod erant mihi oppida complura etiam reliqua quae adire vellem, constitui cum hominibus quo die mihi Messanae praesto essent. Eo mihi nuntium miserunt se a praetore retineri. Quibus ego testimonium denuntiavi, quorum edidi nomina Metello, cupidissimi veniendi, maximis iniuriis affecti, adhuc non venerunt. Hoc iure sunt socii ut iis ne deplorare quidem de suis incommodis liceat.

66 Iam Heraclii Centuripini, optimi nobilissimique adulescentis, testimonium audistis: a quo HS c. milia per calumniam malitiamque petita sunt. Iste poenis compromissisque interpositis HS cccc. milia extorquenda curavit; quodque iudicium secundum Heraclium de compromisso factum erat, cum civis Centuripinus inter duos cives diiudicasset, id irritum iussit esse, eumque iudicem falso iudicasse iudicavit; in senatu esse, locis commodisque publicis uti vetuit; si quis eum pulsasset, edixit sese iudicium iniuriarum non daturum; quicquid ab eo peteretur, iudicem de sua cohorte daturum, ipsi autem nullius actionem rei
67 sese daturum. Quae istius auctoritas tantum valuit

[a] Verres made the claimant quadruple his claim, and both parties agree to submit the matter to an arbitrator. Each party had to bind himself by an agreement (*compromissum*) to pay a certain sum as penalty (*poena*) if he did not abide by the award.

Metellus, I should not have been able to secure the presence of so many of them at this trial. XXVII. 65
But let us return to what I began to tell you of our allies' unhappy position. Heraclius and Epicrates, with all their friends, came out a long way to meet me, thanked me with tears as I approached Syracuse, and expressed their eagerness to go off to Rome with me. Having several towns still left which I wished to visit, I arranged a day with them for meeting me at Messana. They sent me word there that they were being detained by the praetor's orders. These witnesses, whom I have officially summoned, whose names I have given in to Metellus, who are most eager to come here and are the victims of outrageous injustice, have so far not arrived Our allies' rights do not even include permission to complain of their sufferings.

You have already heard the evidence of that 66
young man of high character and position, Heraclius of Centuripa, against whom was brought a lying and malicious claim for £1000. Verres forced into the case arbitration agreements and penalties, and took steps to extract £4000;[a] and when the arbiter—a man of Centuripa, arbitrating between two of his fellow-citizens—decided in favour of Heraclius, Verres annulled the decision, and pronounced the arbiter guilty of making a false award. He forbade this man to appear in the Senate, attend town gatherings, or enjoy civic privileges; and gave notice that he would allow no action for assault against anyone who might strike him, would appoint one of his staff to decide upon any claim brought against him, and would not allow the man himself to sue another man for anything. His authority 67

ut neque illum pulsaret quisquam, cum praetor in provincia sua verbo permitteret, re hortaretur, neque quisquam ab eo quicquam peteret, cum iste calumniae licentiam sua auctoritate ostendisset; ignominia autem illa gravis tam diu in illo homine fuit quam diu iste in provincia mansit. Hoc iniecto metu iudicibus novo more, nullo exemplo, ecquam rem putatis esse in Sicilia nisi ad nutum istius iudicatam? Utrum id solum videtur esse actum, quod est tamen actum, ut haec Heraclio pecunia eriperetur? an etiam illud, in quo praeda erat maxima, ut nomine iudiciorum omnium bona atque fortunae in istius unius essent potestatem?

68 XXVIII. Iam vero in rerum capitalium quaestionibus quid ego unam quamque rem colligam et causam? Ex multis similibus ea sumam quae maxime improbitate excellere videbuntur.

Sopater quidam fuit Halicyensis, homo domi suae cum primis locuples atque honestus. Is ab inimicis suis apud C. Sacerdotem praetorem rei capitalis cum accusatus esset, facile eo iudicio est liberatus. Huic eidem Sopatro idem inimici ad C. Verrem, cum is Sacerdoti successisset, eiusdem rei nomen detulerunt. Res Sopatro facilis videbatur, et quod erat innocens et quod Sacerdotis iudicium improbare istum ausurum non arbitrabatur. Citatur reus; causa agitur Syra-

was so far effective that nobody assaulted the man, in spite of the nominal permission and actual encouragement to do so given by the praetor to all those under him; that nobody sued him for anything, in spite of Verres' official announcement of a free hand for false claimants; but the man's painful humiliation lasted as long as Verres' term of office lasted. In the face of such unprecedented, such unheard-of intimidation of the courts of law, do you imagine that a single case was decided throughout Sicily except as Verres directed? Do you suppose that the only thing which happened was what certainly did happen, the robbery of this money belonging to Heraclius? That there was not also the further result, a highly profitable result for this robber, that he had, in the name of the law, every man's property and fortunes at his own sole disposal?

XXVIII. And now to turn to his conduct of trials 68
for capital offences, I need not review the details of each several case; I will select, out of a number of similar affairs, such as seem distinguished by exceptional wickedness.

Sopater of Halicyae was one of the wealthiest and most respected inhabitants of that town. Prosecuted by his enemies for a criminal offence in the praetorship of Gaius Sacerdos, he had no trouble, on that occasion, in securing an acquittal. When Verres succeeded Sacerdos, this same Sopater was prosecuted before him by these same enemies again on the same charge. He thought himself in little danger, both because he was not guilty, and because he could not suppose that Verres would venture to reverse the decision of Sacerdos. He was summoned to stand his trial, which took place at Syracuse. The

cusis: crimina tractantur ab accusatore ea quae erant antea non solum defensione verum etiam iudicio
69 dissoluta. Causam Sopatri defendebat Q. Minucius, eques Romanus in primis splendidus atque honestus, vobisque, iudices, non ignotus. Nihil erat in causa quod metuendum aut omnino quod dubitandum videretur. Interea istius libertus et accensus Timarchides, qui est, id quod ex plurimis testibus priore actione didicistis, rerum huiusce modi omnium transactor et administer, ad Sopatrum venit; monet hominem ne nimis iudicio Sacerdotis et causae suae confidat; accusatores inimicosque eius habere in animo pecuniam praetori dare; praetorem tamen ab salute malle accipere, et simul malle, si fieri posset, rem iudicatam non rescindere. Sopater, cum hoc illi improvisum atque inopinatum accidisset, commotus est sane, neque in praesentia Timarchidi quid responderet habuit, nisi se consideraturum quid sibi esset faciendum; et simul ostendit se in summa difficultate esse nummaria. Post ad amicos rettulit; qui cum ei fuissent auctores redimendae salutis, ad Timarchidem venit. Expositis suis difficultatibus hominem ad HS LXXX. perducit, eamque ei pecuniam
70 numerat. XXIX. Posteaquam ad causam dicendam ventum est, tum vero sine metu, sine cura omnes erant qui Sopatrum defendebant. Crimen nullum erat, res erat iudicata, Verres nummos acceperat; quis posset dubitare quidnam esset futurum? Res

charges put forward by the prosecutor were charges that had previously been refuted not merely by the arguments of the defence but by the verdict of the court. Sopater was now defended by Quintus 69
Minucius, a most distinguished and respected member of the equestrian order, not unknown to the members of this Court. The case seemed to offer no room for fear, or even for any kind of uncertainty. While it was proceeding, Verres' freedman attendant, Timarchides, who is, as numerous witnesses informed you at the first hearing, the agent who helps him to carry out all affairs of this kind, approached Sopater, warning him not to trust too much to the decision of Sacerdos or the strength of his own case; his prosecutors and enemies were proposing to offer the praetor money, which, however, the latter would prefer to be paid for letting Sopater off; and at the same time he would rather, if he could, avoid reversing the previous decision. Finding himself without warning in this unexpected situation, Sopater was greatly perturbed, and had no immediate answer ready for Timarchides, except that he would think over what he had better do; observing at the same time that he was in great financial difficulties. Later he told his friends what had happened; they undertook to buy his escape for him, and he went back to Timarchides. After stating fully the straits he was in, he bargained with the man till he agreed to take £800, which sum he paid him. XXIX. When the proceedings in court 70
began, all Sopater's supporters were now free from fear and anxiety; the charge was groundless, the case had been judged, Verres had taken his money—what doubt could there be of the result? That day

illo die non peroratur; iudicium dimittitur. Iterum ad Sopatrum Timarchides venit; ait accusatores eius multo maiorem pecuniam praetori polliceri quam quantum hic dedisset: proinde, si saperet, videret. Homo, quamquam erat et Siculus et reus, hoc est, et iure iniquo et tempore adverso, ferre tamen atque audire diutius Timarchidem non potuit. "Facite" inquit "quod vobis libet; daturus non sum amplius." Idemque hoc amicis eius et defensoribus videbatur; atque eo etiam magis quod iste, quoquo modo se in ea quaestione praebebat, tamen in consilio habebat homines honestos e conventu Syracusano, qui Sacerdoti quoque in consilio fuerant tum cum est idem hic Sopater absolutus. Hoc rationis habebant, facere eos nullo modo posse ut eodem crimine, eisdem testibus, Sopatrum condemnarent idem homines qui antea absolvis-
71 sent. Itaque hac una spe ad iudicium venitur. Quo posteaquam est ventum, cum in consilium frequentes convenissent idem qui solebant, et hac una spe tota defensio Sopatri niteretur, consilii frequentia et dignitate, et quod erant, ut dixi, idem qui antea Sopatrum eodem illo crimine liberarant, cognoscite hominis apertam ac non modo non ratione sed ne dissimulatione quidem tectam improbitatem et audaciam. M. Petilium, equitem Romanum, quem habebat in consilio, iubet operam dare, quod rei privatae iudex esset. Petilius recusabat, quod suos

the pleadings were not completed before the court adjourned; after which Timarchides again approached Sopater, and told him that his accusers had offered the praetor a much larger sum than he had himself paid, and he would therefore be wise to think the matter over. Sopater was a Sicilian and a man on his trial; in a position, that is, politically inferior and immediately dangerous; but for all that, he could endure and listen to Timarchides no longer. "Do what you will," he replied; "I am not going to pay you anything more." This resolution was approved by his friends and advisers also, all the more because, let Verres behave in the trial as he might, there were on his council respectable men from the Syracuse district, who had also been serving in the same way under Sacerdos when this same Sopater had been acquitted. Sopater's friends argued that the men who had acquitted him previously could never agree to find him guilty now on the same charge and the same evidence as before; and they went into court trusting to this single hope.
The court assembled; the council was well attended 71
by the usual persons; Sopater's whole hopes of a successful defence rested upon this good attendance of its reputable members, and on the fact which I mentioned, that these were the same persons as had before acquitted him on exactly the same charge. Remembering this, now observe the open and shameless wickedness of yonder man—wickedness cloaked neither by plausible argument nor even by any attempt at concealment. He told Marcus Petilius, a Roman knight sitting on his council, to go off to his duties as judge in a civil case. Petilius objected, because Verres was retaining on his

amicos, quos sibi in consilio esse vellet, ipse Verres retineret in consilio. Iste homo liberalis negat se quemquam retinere eorum qui Petilio vellent adesse. Itaque discedunt omnes; nam ceteri quoque impetrant ne retineantur, qui se velle dicebant alterutri eorum qui tum illud iudicium habebant adesse. Itaque iste solus cum sua cohorte nequissima
72 relinquitur. Non dubitabat Minucius, qui Sopatrum defendebat, quin iste, quoniam consilium dimisisset, illo die rem illam quaesiturus non esset, cum repente iubetur dicere. Respondet "Ad quos?" "Ad me," inquit, "si tibi idoneus videor qui de homine Siculo ac Graeculo iudicem." "Idoneus es," inquit, "sed pervellem adessent ii qui adfuerant antea causamque cognorant." "Dic," inquit, "illi adesse non possunt." "Nam hercule," inquit Minucius, "me quoque Petilius ut sibi in consilio adessem rogavit";
73 et simul a subselliis abire coepit. Iste iratus hominem verbis vehementioribus prosequitur, atque ei gravius etiam minari coepit quod in se tantum crimen invidiamque conflaret. XXX. Minucius, qui Syracusis sic negotiaretur ut sui iuris dignitatisque meminisset, et qui sciret se ita in provincia rem augere oportere ut ne quid de libertate deperderet, homini quae visa sunt, et quae tempus illud tulit et causa, respondit; causam sese dimisso atque ablegato consilio defensurum negavit. Itaque a subselliis discessit; idemque hoc praeter Siculos ceteri

[a] *i.e.*, such of the Sicilians as Petilius did not ask for as his assessors.

council friends of Petilius whose presence the latter desired on his own council. Our courteous gentleman replied that he would not retain any person who wished to attend Petilius. So off they all went; for the others [a] too asked and were granted permission to go, saying that they desired to support one or other of the parties in this other case. Thus Verres was left alone with the members of his rascally
staff. Minucius, who was defending Sopater, was 72
assuming that Verres, having let his council go, did not mean to proceed with this business that day, when he was suddenly ordered to proceed with his speech. "To whom?" asked Minucius. "To me," was the reply, "if you think me qualified to try this little beast of a Sicilian Greek." "Certainly," said Minucius, "but I should be very glad to have those present who were present before and are acquainted with the case." "They cannot be present," said Verres; "go on." "Why, the truth is," said Minucius, "that Petilius has asked me too to be one of his council"; and with that he left his place
to go. Verres n a rage pursued him with violent 73
language, and even began to threaten him savagely for conspiring thus to make people attack and hate him. XXX. Minucius, being a man who did not let his business interests at Syracuse make him forget his rights and responsibilities, and who was aware that his pursuit of wealth in Sicily ought not to mean any loss of his personal freedom, expressed with frankness what he felt about this case and the situation that had arisen, refusing to conduct the defence when the members of the court had been dismissed and packed off. He left his place accordingly; and Sopater's other friends and supporters,

74 Sopatri amici advocatique fecerunt. Iste, quamquam est incredibili importunitate et audacia, tamen subito solus destitutus pertimuit et conturbatus est; quid ageret, quo se verteret nesciebat. Si dimisisset eo tempore quaestionem, post, illis adhibitis in consilium quos ablegarat, absolutum iri Sopatrum videbat; sin autem hominem miserum atque innocentem ita condemnasset, cum ipse praetor sine consilio, reus autem sine patrono atque advocatis fuisset, iudiciumque C. Sacerdotis rescidisset, invidiam se sustinere tantam posse non arbitrabatur. Itaque aestuabat dubitatione, versabat se utramque in partem, non solum mente verum etiam corpore, ut omnes qui aderant intellegere possent in animo eius metum cum cupiditate pugnare. Erat hominum conventus maximus, summum silentium, summa exspectatio quonam esset eius cupiditas eruptura; crebro se accensus demittebat ad aurem
75 Timarchides. Tum iste aliquando "Age, dic!" inquit. Reus orare atque obsecrare ut cum consilio cognosceret. Tum repente iste testes citari iubet; dicit unus et alter breviter; nihil interrogatur; praeco DIXISSE pronuntiat. Iste, quasi metueret ne Petilius privato illo iudicio transacto aut prolato cum ceteris in consilium reverteretur, ita properans de sella exsilit, hominem innocentem, a C. Sacerdote absolutum, indicta causa, de sententia scribae medici haruspicisque condemnat.

the Sicilians excepted, did likewise. Insolent and 74
unscrupulous beyond belief as Verres is, on finding himself suddenly left behind alone he was overcome with fright and confusion, unable to see what to do or which way to turn. If he were to adjourn the trial now, he saw that when the court met later, with those members present whom he had got rid of, Sopater would be acquitted; if on the other hand he now condemned this unfortunate and guiltless man, having himself presided without a council and having left the accused without advocate or supporters, and reversing thereby the decision of Sacerdos, he felt that he would be unable to face the hatred that such an action would entail. In an agony of indecision, he kept shifting first this way and then that, not only mentally but physically, so that all those present could see how fear was contending in his mind with cupidity. There was a great crowd present —dead silence—breathless anxiety as to what line of attack his greed would adopt. His attendant Timarchides kept bending down to whisper in his
ear. At last he said, "Come now, proceed!" The 75
accused man prayed and besought him to try the case before a court. Thereupon he abruptly ordered the witnesses to be called; two or three of them gave hurried evidence; there was no cross-examination; the court crier declared the case over. Verres leapt up from his chair as eagerly as if he were afraid that Petilius had finished or adjourned his hearing of the civil suit and would reappear in court with the others; and that innocent man, whom Sacerdos had acquitted, and whose case had not been tried, was, with the concurrence of a clerk, an apothecary, and a soothsayer, pronounced Guilty.

76 XXXI. Retinete, retinete hominem in civitate, iudices; parcite et conservate, ut sit qui vobiscum res iudicet, qui in senatu sine ulla cupiditate de bello et pace sententiam ferat. Tametsi minus id quidem nobis, minus populo Romano laborandum est, qualis istius in senatu sententia futura sit. Quae enim eius auctoritas erit? quando iste sententiam dicere audebit aut poterit? quando autem homo tantae luxuriae atque desidiae nisi Februario mense aspirabit in curiam? Verum veniat sane; decernat bellum Cretensibus, liberet Byzantios, regem appellet Ptolomaeum; quae vult Hortensius, omnia dicat et sentiat: minus haec ad nos, minus ad vitae nostrae discrimen, minus ad fortunarum nostrarum periculum
77 pertinent. Illud est capitale, illud formidolosum, illud optimo cuique metuendum, quod iste, ex hoc iudicio si aliqua vi se eripuerit, in iudicibus sit necesse est, sententiam de capite civis Romani ferat, sit in eius exercitu signifer qui imperium iudiciorum tenere vult. Hoc populus Romanus recusat, hoc ferre non potest: clamat permittitque vobis ut, si istis hominibus delectemini, si ex eo genere splendorem ordini atque ornamentum curiae constituere velitis, habeatis sane istum vobiscum senatorem: etiam de vobis iudicem, si vultis, habeatis: de se homines, si qui extra istum ordinem sunt, quibus ne reiciendi quidem amplius quam trium iudicum praeclarae leges Corneliae

[a] The regular month for receiving petitions from subject or foreign communities, which venal senators could secure bribes to support (see Book I. § 90).

[b] Current pieces of foreign business, not of the highest importance.

[c] Hortensius: see *Actio prima*, § 35.

XXXI. Save Verres, gentlemen! save him for Rome! spare him, and keep him safe! You need such a man on the Bench. You need him in the Senate, to give his disinterested voice for peace or war. This latter consideration, to be sure, of how his voice will be given in the Senate, concerns us, and concerns the country, comparatively little. For how much weight will his opinion have? When will he have the courage, or the ability, to utter it? And when, unless it be in February,[a] will such an indolent profligate come near the House? But let him attend, by all means; let him declare war on Crete, let him award the Byzantines freedom and Ptolemy his royal title;[b] let him say, and let him think, whatsoever Hortensius will have him say and think. Such matters are of comparatively small import for us, for the safety of our lives, for the security of our fortunes. The fatal thing, the terrible thing, 77
the thing that all honest men must fear, is the certainty that Verres, if violence shall somehow secure his escape from his judges now, will be one of our judges, that his verdict will control the liberties of Roman citizens, that he will hold a commission in the army of the man[c] who aspires to the command of our law-courts. It is against this that Romans protest; it is to this that they cannot submit. If you, they cry, delight in such a man as this, if you choose to select persons of this type to add lustre to your order and distinction to your House, you may keep him, by all means, as a fellow-senator; nay, if you will have it so, you may keep him as a judge—to judge yourselves; but we who are not members of your order, we whom the great laws of Sulla do not permit even to challenge more than three of our

faciunt potestatem, hunc hominem tam crudelem, tam
78 sceleratum, tam nefarium nolunt iudicare. XXXII.
Etenim si illud est flagitiosum, quod mihi omnium rerum turpissimum maximeque nefarium videtur, ob rem iudicandam pecuniam accipere, pretio habere addictam fidem et religionem, quanto illud flagitiosius, improbius, indignius, eum a quo pecuniam ob absolvendum acceperis condemnare, ut ne praedonum quidem praetor in fide retinenda consuetudinem conservet! Scelus est accipere ab reo: quanto magis ab accusatore, quanto etiam sceleratius ab utroque! Fidem cum proposuisses venalem in provincia, valuit apud te plus is qui pecuniam maiorem dedit: concedo; forsitan aliquis aliquando eius modi quidpiam fecerit. Cum vero fidem ac religionem tuam iam alteri addictam pecunia accepta habueris, postea eandem adversario tradideris maiore pecunia, utrumque falles, et trades cui voles, et ei quem
79 fefelleris ne pecuniam quidem reddes? Quem mihi
tu Bulbum, quem Staienum? quod umquam huiusce modi monstrum aut prodigium audivimus aut vidimus, qui cum reo transigat, post cum accusatore decidat, honestos homines, qui causam norint, ableget a consilioque dimittat, ipse solus reum absolutum a quo pecuniam acceperit condemnet, pecuniamque non reddat? Hunc hominem in iudicum numero habebimus? hic alteram decuriam senatoriam iudex

[a] A senator might challenge six.

[b] Two notoriously venal judges in the trial of Oppianicus some years before.

[c] *Decuria*, a section of the album ("White Book") of senators eligible for service as members of Criminal Courts.

judges,[a] we refuse to be judged by this cruel and
infamous scoundrel. XXXII. For indeed, if it is a 78
wicked thing—and to me it seems the foulest and vilest thing in the world—that a judge should accept a bribe, that he should make money the master of his honour and his conscience, how much more wicked and vicious and shameful still it is that he should condemn a man from whom he has taken money to acquit him; that he, a magistrate, should have even less care to keep his pledged word than is customary among a gang of bandits! It is a crime to take money from an accused man: how much worse to take it from his prosecutor, how much worse still to take it from them both! You exposed your honour for sale in your province, and the man swayed you most who paid you best; well, never mind—there may now and then have been someone who did something of the same description. But when your honour and conscience is already another man's property and the price is already paid, will you then transfer that honour and conscience to his opponent who pays you more? Will you cheat them both and choose your own purchaser, and not
even give your victim his money back? Talk not 79
to me of Bulbus or Staienus[b]; what such unnatural prodigy have we ever seen or heard of as this man who makes one bargain with the accused and then concludes another with the accuser, who banishes and expels from his court the respectable men who know the facts, condemns unsupported the already acquitted man whose money he has taken, and refuses to give that money back? Shall we have such a man as this among our judges? Shall this man's name appear again in a panel[c] of senators?

obtinebit? hic de capite libero iudicabit? huic iudicialis tabella committetur? quam iste non modo cera verum etiam sanguine, si visum erit, notabit.

80 XXXIII. Quid enim horum se negat fecisse? illud videlicet unum, quod necesse est, pecuniam accepisse. Quidni iste neget? At eques Romanus, qui Sopatrum defendit, qui omnibus eius consiliis rebusque interfuit, Q. Minucius, iuratus dicit pecuniam datam, iuratus dicit Timarchidem dixisse maiorem pecuniam ab accusatoribus dari. Dicent hoc multi Siculi, dicent omnes Halicyenses, dicet etiam praetextatus Sopatri filius, qui ab isto homine crudelissimo patre innocentissimo pecuniaque patria
81 privatus est. Verum si de pecunia testibus planum facere non possem, illud negare posses aut nunc negabis, te consilio tuo dimisso, viris primariis qui in consilio C. Sacerdoti fuerant tibique esse solebant remotis de re iudicata iudicavisse? teque eum quem C. Sacerdos adhibito consilio causa cognita absolvisset eundem remoto consilio causa incognita condemnasse? Cum haec confessus eris, quae in foro palam Syracusis in ore atque in oculis provinciae gesta sunt, negato tum sane, si voles, te pecuniam accepisse; reperies, credo, aliquem qui, cum haec quae palam gesta sunt videat, quaerat quid tu occulte egeris,

[a] Referring perhaps to the scandal mentioned in the *Actio prima*, § 40.

Shall a free man's status depend on *his* verdict? Shall the tablet to record the verdict be put into *his* hands—a tablet that he will be ready to smear, if the fancy takes him, not with mere wax[a] but with the blood of men.

XXXIII. For which of these charges does he deny? 80
only one, doubtless, the one that he must deny—that he received the money. Deny this? Of course he denies it. But the Roman knight Quintus Minucius, who defended Sopater, who knew of all that Sopater did and meant to do, has sworn that the money was paid, and has sworn that Timarchides said that the prosecutors were offering more money still. That is what many in Sicily will say; what every man at Halicyae will say; what, moreover, Sopater's young son will say, whom that ruffian's cruelty has robbed of his innocent father, and of the money his father would have left him. But even if I could not bring evidence 81
to prove the facts about the money, could you deny, or will you now deny, that you first dismissed your council and got rid of the reputable persons who had sat on the council of Sacerdos and had been regularly sitting on yours, and then pronounced judgement on an issue already judged? That you took a man whom Sacerdos, supported by his council, had first tried fairly and then acquitted, and with your council dismissed and no trial held at all declared him guilty? When you have confessed to having done this thing that was done openly, in the market-place of Syracuse, in full view of the province, then by all means deny, if you care to deny, that you took the man's money; you may, of course, possibly find someone who, having seen what happened in the daylight, is yet not sure of what you did in the dark, or someone who cannot

aut qui dubitet utrum malit meis testibus an tuis defensoribus credere.

82 Dixi iam ante me non omnia istius quae in hoc genere essent enumeraturum, sed electurum ea quae maxime excellerent. XXXIV. Accipite nunc aliud eius facinus nobile et multis locis saepe commemoratum, et eius modi ut in uno omnia maleficia inesse videantur. Attendite diligenter; invenietis enim id facinus natum a cupiditate, auctum per stuprum, crudelitate perfectum atque conclusum.

83 Sthenius est, hic qui nobis assidet, Thermitanus, antea multis propter summam virtutem summamque nobilitatem, nunc propter suam calamitatem atque istius insignem iniuriam, omnibus notus. Huius hospitio Verres cum esset usus, et cum apud eum non solum Thermis saepenumero fuisset sed etiam habitasset, omnia domo eius abstulit quae paulo magis animum cuiuspiam aut oculos possent commovere. Etenim Sthenius ab adulescentia paulo studiosius haec compararat, supellectilem ex aere elegantiorem, et Deliacam et Corinthiam, tabulas pictas, etiam argenti bene facti, prout Thermitani hominis facultates ferebant, satis. Quae, cum esset in Asia adulescens, studiose, ut dixi, comparabat, non tam suae delectationis causa quam ad invitationes adventusque nostrorum hominum, amicorum atque

84 hospitum. Quae posteaquam iste omnia abstulit, alia rogando, alia poscendo, alia sumendo, ferebat Sthenius ut poterat; angebatur animi necessario quod

quite decide whether he had rather believe my witnesses or your supporters.

I have already said that I do not mean to enumerate 82 all Verres' achievements of this sort, but to choose out the most remarkable. XXXIV. Let me tell you now of another notorious crime of his, the story of which has spread widely and often been told; a crime that seems to comprehend in itself every kind of evil action. I ask for your close attention to the tale of this crime, which was, as you will see, engendered by greed, nourished by lust, and finally completed by cruelty.

The gentleman who is sitting near me is Sthenius of 83 Thermae, whose high rank and character once made his name familiar to many of us, and whose unhappy fate and notable sufferings at Verres' hands have made it now familiar to us all. Though Verres had enjoyed his hospitality, though he had not only repeatedly been to see him at Thermae but actually stayed in his house, he carried off from it every object in which anyone could feel or see any degree of unusual beauty. The truth is that Sthenius had all his life been a rather keen collector of such things—Delian and Corinthian bronze of special elegance, pictures, and even finely-wrought silver, of which he had, considering what the means of a man of Thermae would allow, a good stock. As a young man in Asia he had, as I said, been a keen collector of these things; less with a view to his own enjoyment than to enable him to invite, and be ready to receive, our own people as his friends and guests. When Verres had carried all his treasures off, having 84 asked for some, demanded others, and helped himself to the rest, Sthenius bore his loss as well as he could. He was, of course, distressed at the almost bare and

domum eius exornatam atque instructam fere iam iste reddiderat nudam atque inanem: verum tamen dolorem suum nemini impertiebat: praetoris iniurias
85 tacite, hospitis placide ferendas arbitrabatur. Interea iste cupiditate illa sua nota atque apud omnes pervagata, cum signa quaedam pulcherrima atque antiquissima Thermis in publico posita vidisset, adamavit; a Sthenio petere coepit ut ad ea tollenda operam suam profiteretur seque adiuvaret. Sthenius vero non solum negavit, sed etiam ostendit fieri id nullo modo posse ut signa antiquissima, monumenta P. Africani, ex oppido Thermitanorum incolumi illa civitate imperioque populi Romani tollerentur.

86 XXXV. Etenim ut simul Africani quoque humanitatem et aequitatem cognoscatis, oppidum Himeram Carthaginienses quondam ceperant, quod fuerat in primis Siciliae clarum et ornatum. Scipio, qui hoc dignum populo Romano arbitraretur, bello confecto socios sua per nostram victoriam recuperare, Siculis omnibus Carthagine capta quae potuit restituenda curavit. Himera deleta, quos cives belli calamitas reliquos fecerat, ii se Thermis collocarant in isdem agri finibus neque longe ab oppido antiquo; hi se patrum fortunam ac dignitatem recuperare arbitrabantur cum illa maiorum ornamenta in eorum oppido
87 collocabantur. Erant signa ex aere complura: in his eximia pulchritudine ipsa Himera, in muliebrem

[a] The younger. [b] In 408 B.C.
[c] In 146 B.C.; the third Punic War.

empty state to which Verres had by now reduced his well fitted and furnished home; still, he shared his unhappiness with nobody; the outrages of a governor must, he felt, be borne in silence, and those of a guest
with calmness. Verres, in the meantime, with the 85
cupidity for which he is notorious all over the world, fell in love with certain very fine and ancient statues which he saw standing in some public part of Thermae, and began pressing Sthenius to promise him his assistance in getting hold of them. Sthenius, however, refused; and more than that, pointed out that these ancient statues, memorials of Scipio Africanus,[a] could not by any possibility be carried away from the town of Thermae so long as Thermae and the Roman Empire remained intact.

XXXV. What he meant—if I may, incidentally, 86
illustrate the sympathy and fair-mindedness of the hero of Africa—was this. Long ago,[b] the Carthaginians captured the town of Himera, till then one of the most famous and most richly adorned towns in Sicily. The honour of Rome, it seemed to Scipio, demanded that, when the war[c] was over, our triumph should lead to our allies recovering what belonged to them; and after the capture of Carthage he saw to it that restitution was made, so far as might be, to all the Sicilians. Now after the destruction of Himera, those of its citizens who had survived the horrors of war had settled at Thermae, within the territory of the ancient city, and not far away from it; and as they watched their ancestral treasures being set up in their town, they felt themselves beginning to regain the prosperity and importance enjoyed by their forefathers.
There were several bronze statues; among others, 87
one of exceptional beauty, the figure of a woman

figuram habitumque formata, ex oppidi nomine et fluminis. Erat etiam Stesichori poetae statua, senilis, incurva, cum libro, summo, ut putant, artificio facta; qui fuit Himerae, sed et est et fuit tota Graecia summo propter ingenium honore et nomine. Haec iste ad insaniam concupiverat. Etiam, quod paene praeterii, capella quaedam est, ea quidem mire, ut etiam nos, qui rudes harum rerum sumus, intellegere possumus, scite facta et venuste. Haec et alia Scipio non neglegenter abiecerat, ut homo intellegens Verres auferre posset, sed Thermitanis restituerat: non quo ipse hortos aut suburbanum aut locum omnino ubi ea poneret nullum haberet; sed quod, si domum abstulisset, non diu Scipionis appellarentur, sed eorum ad quoscumque illius morte venissent; nunc iis locis posita sunt ut mihi semper Scipionis fore videantur itaque dicantur.

88 XXXVI. Haec cum iste posceret agereturque ea res in senatu, Sthenius vehementissime restitit, multaque, ut in primis Siculorum in dicendo copiosus est, commemoravit: urbem relinquere Thermitanis esse honestius quam pati tolli ex urbe monumenta maiorum, spolia hostium, beneficia clarissimi viri, indicia societatis populi Romani atque amicitiae.

wearing woman's dress, representing Himera herself, whose name is that of both town and river. There was also a statue of the poet Stesichorus, represented as an old man leaning forward and holding a book; this is reckoned a very fine work of art; its subject lived at Himera, but is, and always has been, honoured and renowned for his genius throughout the Greek world. Both these Verres had been seized with a frantic craving to acquire. There is also—I had nearly forgotten it—the figure of a she-goat, and this certainly is, as even we who know little of such things can tell, a wonderfully clever and charming bit of work. These and other such objects Scipio had not thrown carelessly aside for a connoisseur like Verres to appropriate, but had returned them to their owners, the people of Thermae; not because he was without a garden in Rome, or an estate near it, or a place of some kind somewhere in which to put them; but because, if he took them away home, they would be called Scipio's for a short while only, and thereafter be known as the property of those who inherited them at his death: standing where they do, I feel that they will be Scipio's always; and so indeed are they described.

XXXVI. When Verres demanded these treasures, 88
the matter was discussed in the local Senate. Sthenius there attacked the proposal violently, reminding his hearers of the facts in a long speech, delivered with the fluency for which he is distinguished among Sicilians. Better, he said, for them to abandon Thermae than to allow the removal from Thermae of those memorials of their fathers, those trophies of victory, those gifts of their illustrious benefactor, those tokens of their alliance and friendship with the

Commoti animi sunt omnium; repertus est nemo quin mori diceret satius esse. Itaque hoc adhuc oppidum Verres invenit prope solum in orbe terrarum unde nihil eius modi rerum de publico per vim, nihil occulte, nihil imperio, nihil gratia, nihil pretio posset auferre. Verum hasce eius cupiditates exponam alio loco; nunc ad Sthenium revertar.
89 Iratus iste vehementer Sthenio et incensus hospitium ei renuntiat, domo eius emigrat—atque adeo exit, nam iam ante emigrarat. Eum autem statim inimicissimi Sthenii domum suam invitant, ut animum eius in Sthenium inflammarent ementiendo aliquid et criminando. Hi autem erant inimici Agathinus, homo nobilis, et Dorotheus, qui habebat in matrimonio Callidamam, Agathini eius filiam; de qua iste audierat, itaque ad generum Agathini migrare maluit. Una nox intercesserat cum iste Dorotheum sic diligebat ut diceres omnia inter eos esse communia, Agathinum ita observabat ut aliquem affinem atque propinquum; contemnere etiam signum illud Himerae iam videbatur, quod eum multo magis figura
90 et liniamenta hospitae delectabant. XXXVII. Itaque hortari homines coepit ut aliquid Sthenio periculi crearent criminisque confingerent. Dicebant se illi nihil habere quod dicerent. Tum iste iis aperte ostendit et confirmavit eos in Sthenium quicquid vellent, simul atque ad se detulissent, probaturos.

[a] His furniture (*i.e.*, his host's treasures) had already been sent off.

Roman nation. All his hearers were deeply stirred; none but declared that death were a better fate. And this is consequently almost the only town in the world from which Verres has so far found it impossible to carry off any publicly-owned treasure of this sort, either by stealth, or by force, or by the exercise of authority, or by favour, or by purchase. However, I will tell elsewhere the tale of his voracity in such matters, and will now go back to Sthenius. Inflamed 89
with violent anger against Sthenius, he renounced his hospitality and moved out of his house—or rather, stepped out of it, for he had *moved* [a] out of it already. He was promptly invited by the chief enemies of Sthenius to stay with them; they meant to increase his resentment against Sthenius by concocting some lying charge against the man. These enemies were a man of some note named Agathinus, and Dorotheus, who was married to Callidama the daughter of Agathinus; Verres had heard of this lady, and chose the son-in-law's house as his new abode for that reason. After one night there he was so fond of Dorotheus that one would have supposed they had all things in common, and was paying Agathinus the attentions due to a near connexion; it would even appear that he no longer cared much for the statue of Himera, the shape and features of his hostess gave him so much greater satisfaction. XXXVII. The result was that 90
he began encouraging these people to do something to ruin Sthenius and rig up some sort of charge against him. They told him that they could think of nothing to say. Thereupon he informed them, openly and positively, that any charge they chose to bring before him against Sthenius they would succeed in proving as soon as they had brought it. At this they delayed

Itaque illi non procrastinant; Sthenium statim educunt, aiunt ab eo litteras publicas esse corruptas. Sthenius postulat ut, cum secum sui cives agant de litteris publicis corruptis, eiusque rei legibus Thermitanorum actio sit; senatusque et populus Romanus Thermitanis, quod semper in amicitia fideque mansissent, urbem agros legesque suas reddidisset; Publiusque Rupilius postea leges ita Siculis ex senatus consulto de decem legatorum sententia dedisset ut cives inter sese legibus suis agerent; idemque hoc haberet Verres ipse in edicto: ut de his omnibus
91 causis se ad leges reiceret. Iste homo omnium aequissimus atque a cupiditate remotissimus se cogniturum esse confirmat; paratum ad causum dicendam venire hora nona iubet. Non erat obscurum quid homo improbus ac nefarius cogitaret; neque enim ipse satis occultarat, nec mulier tacere potuerat. Intellectum est id istum agere ut, cum Sthenium sine ullo argumento ac sine teste damnasset, tum homo nefarius de homine nobili atque id aetatis suoque hospite virgis supplicium crudelissime sumeret. Quod cum esset perspicuum, de amicorum hospitumque suorum sententia Thermis Sthenius Romam profugit; hiemi fluctibusque sese committere maluit quam non istam communem Siculorum tempestatem calamitatemque vitaret.

92 XXXVIII. Iste homo certus et diligens ad horam

no longer, but promptly issued a summons against Sthenius, and alleged that he had forged an official document. Sthenius made application as follows: Whereas he was charged, by his fellow-citizens, with forging an official document; and whereas the laws of Thermae provided a form of trial for that offence; and whereas the Senate and People of Rome, considering the unbroken amity and loyalty of the people of Thermae, had restored to them their city, their lands, and their own laws; and whereas the right of citizens to proceed against one another under their own laws was thereafter laid down in the laws made for the Sicilians by Publius Rupilius, in conformity with a decree of the Senate and the recommendations of the Commission of Ten; and whereas Verres in his Edict had confirmed this right: That on all the aforesaid grounds Verres would send his case for trial under the laws of the city. But this paragon of disinterested 91
impartiality announced that he would try the case himself, and ordered Sthenius to appear with his defence ready by the middle of the afternoon. The rascal's immoral plan was not obscure; for he had not kept it quite secret himself, nor had that woman succeeded in holding her tongue. It was seen that his purpose was, with no support of proof or evidence, to pronounce Sthenius guilty, and then to inflict, upon this elderly man of high standing, who had been the scoundrel's own host, the merciless punishment of flogging. This being obvious, Sthenius took the advice of his friends and intimates, and fled from Thermae to Rome, ready to face the rough waves of winter, if so he might escape the hurricane that was devastating all the land of Sicily.

XXXVIII. Our punctual and business-like Verres 92

nonam praesto est; Sthenium citari iubet. Quem posteaquam videt non adesse, dolore ardere atque iracundia furere coepit; Venerios domum Sthenii mittere, equis circum agros eius villasque dimittere. Itaque dum exspectat quidnam sibi certi afferatur, ante horam tertiam noctis de foro non discedit. Postridie mane descendit; Agathinum ad sese vocat, iubet eum de litteris publicis in absentem Sthenium dicere. Erat eius modi causa ut ille ne sine adversario quidem apud inimicum iudicem reperire posset
93 quid diceret; itaque tantum verbo posuit Sacerdote praetore Sthenium litteras publicas corrupisse. Vix ille hoc dixerat cum iste pronuntiat STHENIUM LITTERAS PUBLICAS CORRUPISSE VIDERI; et haec praeterea addidit homo Venerius, novo modo, nullo exemplo, OB EAM REM HS D. VENERI ERYCINAE DE STHENII BONIS SE EXACTURUM; bonaque eius statim coepit vendere; et vendidisset, si tantulum morae fuisset quo minus
94 ei pecunia illa numeraretur. Ea posteaquam numerata est, contentus hac iniquitate non fuit; palam de sella ac tribunali pronuntiat SI QUIS ABSENTEM STHENIUM REI CAPITALIS REUM FACERE VELLET, SESE EIUS NOMEN RECEPTURUM; et simul ut ad causam accederet nomenque deferret Agathinum, novum affinem atque hospitem, coepit hortari. Tum ille

arrived in the afternoon at the hour appointed, and ordered Sthenius to be summoned. Finding that his victim was absent, in a wild outburst of disappointed fury he dispatched police-messengers to the house of Sthenius, and sent others off on horseback to make the round of his estates and farm-houses; and he waited so long for news from these men that the evening was half gone before he left the courthouse. The next morning he arrived early, sent for Agathinus, and bade him prosecute Sthenius for forgery in his absence. The case was so weak that, even though Sthenius was not there to reply and was being tried by his personal enemy, Agathinus could think of no arguments to submit; he there- 93
fore merely stated in so many words that during the praetorship of Sacerdos Sthenius had forged an official document. The words were hardly out of his mouth when Verres pronounced sentence, "Sthenius is found guilty of forgery of an official document": to which this devotee of Venus added, without any usage or precedent to support him, "I will exact as penalty the payment of £5000 from the estate of Sthenius to Our Lady of Eryx;" whereupon he took steps at once to have the belongings of Sthenius sold up; and sold up they would have been, had there been the smallest delay in paying him that £5000. The payment completed, 94
he was not satisfied with this outrage of justice. From his chair of office on the tribunal he announced publicly that if anyone should think fit to prosecute Sthenius in absence on a capital charge, permission to prosecute would be granted; and with that he began urging his new host and connexion, Agathinus, to come forward and undertake such a prosecution.

clare omnibus audientibus se id non esse facturum, neque se usque eo Sthenio esse inimicum ut eum rei capitalis affinem esse diceret. Hic tum repente Pacilius quidam, homo egens et levis, accedit; ait, si liceret, absentis nomen deferre se velle. Iste vero et licere et fieri solere, et se recepturum; itaque defertur. Edicit statim ut Kalendis Decembribus adsit Sthenius Syracusis.

95 Hic, qui Romam pervenisset, satisque feliciter anni iam adverso tempore navigasset, omniaque habuisset aequiora et placabiliora quam animum praetoris atque hospitis, rem ad amicos suos detulit; quae, ut erat acerba atque indigna, sic videbatur omnibus. XXXIX. Itaque in senatu continuo Cn. Lentulus et L. Gellius consules faciunt mentionem placere statui, si patribus conscriptis videretur, NE ABSENTES HOMINES IN PROVINCIIS REI FIERENT RERUM CAPITALIUM; causam Sthenii totam et istius crudelitatem et iniquitatem senatum docent Aderat in senatu Verres pater istius, et flens unum quemque senatorum rogabat ut filio suo parceret; neque tamen multum proficiebat, erat enim summa voluntas senatus. Itaque sententiae dicebantur, CUM STHENIUS ABSENS REUS FACTUS ESSET, DE ABSENTE IUDICIUM NULLUM FIERI PLACERE, ET, SI QUOD ESSET FACTUM, ID

Agathinus replied, in a loud voice which all could hear, that he would not do so, that he was not so bitter an enemy to Sthenius as to allege him to be connected with a capital offence. Upon this, without warning, one Pacilius, a man of no position or character, stepped forward and professed himself ready, if it was allowable, to prosecute Sthenius in his absence. Verres replied that it was both allowable and usual, and that permission should be granted; and it was done accordingly. Verres at once gave notice summoning Sthenius to appear at Syracuse on the 1st day of December.

Sthenius had reached Rome, after a voyage 95
which, considering that the stormy season had begun, was quite satisfactory, and had been in all ways calmer and more agreeable than the temper of his guest the praetor. He reported the attack on him to his friends, all of whom considered it a cruel piece of injustice, as indeed it was. XXXIX. The immediate result was that the consuls Gnaeus Lentulus and Lucius Gellius moved the following resolution in the Senate, *That in the opinion of this House the prosecution of persons in their absence on capital charges should be prohibited in the provinces*, and gave the Senate a full account of the case of Sthenius and Verres' iniquitous cruelty. The elder Verres, this man's father, was in the House, and with tears in his eyes kept beseeching one senator after another to have mercy on his son, but without much success, so strong was the feeling in the Senate. Speeches were made supporting the motion *That whereas Sthenius has been prosecuted in his absence, it is agreed that no trial of him in his absence shall take place, and that if any*

96 RATUM ESSE NON PLACERE. Eo die transigi nihil potuit, quod et id temporis erat et ille pater istius invenerat homines qui dicendo tempus consumerent. Postea senex Verres defensores atque hospites omnes Sthenii convenit; rogat eos atque orat ne oppugnent filium suum; de Sthenio ne laborent; confirmat iis curaturum se esse ne quid ei per filium suum noceretur, se homines certos eius rei causa in Siciliam et terra et mari esse missurum. Et erat spatium dierum fere triginta ante Kalendas Decembres, quo die iste ut
97 Syracusis Sthenius adesset edixerat. Commoventur amici Sthenii; sperant fore ut patris litteris nuntiisque filius ab illo furore revocetur. In senatu postea causa non agitur. Veniunt ad istum domestici nuntii litterasque a patre afferunt ante Kalendas Decembres, cum isti etiam tum de Sthenio in integro tota res esset; eodemque ei tempore de eadem re litterae complures a multis eius amicis ac necessariis afferuntur. XL. Hic iste, qui prae cupiditate neque officii sui neque periculi neque pietatis neque humanitatis rationem habuisset umquam, neque in eo quod monebatur auctoritatem patris neque in eo quod rogabatur voluntatem anteponendam putavit libidini suae, mane Kalendis Decembribus ut edixerat
98 Sthenium citari iubet.—Si abs te istam rem parens

such trial has already taken place, it shall be invalid. No final decision could be reached that day, both 96
because it was so late, and because Verres' father secured certain members to spin out the proceedings with long speeches. When the House rose, the old gentleman asked all the supporters and intimate friends of Sthenius to come and see him, and urgently entreated them not to continue the attack on his son. "You need not," he told them, "be anxious about Sthenius. I give you my word that I will see to it that no harm comes to him through my son; I will for this purpose send him word in Sicily by responsible messengers, both overland and by water." It was, certainly, some thirty days yet to the 1st of December, the day Verres had officially fixed for the appearance of Sthenius at Syracuse. The appeal succeeded; the friends of Sthenius felt sure that the father's 97
letters and messengers would make the son give up his insane purpose. The question was not discussed any further in the Senate. The messengers from home reached Verres, bringing his father's letters, before the 1st of December, while he had as yet taken no irrevocable steps regarding Sthenius; and at the same time a number of letters on the same subject reached him from a number of his friends and acquaintances. XL. And then this man, whose passions had always blinded him to considerations of morality and prudence, of duty towards others and feeling for others, resolved neither to heed his father's warnings nor to defer to his father's wishes, because they interfered with his own desires. On the morning of the 1st of December, in accordance with his notice, he ordered Sthenius to be summoned into court.—Had your father made that 98

tuus alicuius amici rogatu benignitate aut ambitione adductus petisset, gravissima tamen apud te voluntas patris esse debuisset; cum vero abs te tui capitis causa peteret hominesque certos domo misisset, hique eo tempore ad te venissent cum tibi in integro tota res esset, ne tum quidem te potuit, si non pietatis, at salutis tuae ratio ad officium sanitatemque reducere?—Citat reum; non respondit. Citat accusatorem; attendite, quaeso, iudices, quanto opere istius amentiae fortuna ipsa adversata sit, et simul videte qui Sthenii causam casus adiuverit; citatus accusator, M. Pacilius, nescio quo casu non respondit, non
99 adfuit. Si praesens Sthenius reus esset factus, si manifesto in maleficio teneretur, tamen, cum accusator non adesset, Sthenium condemnari non oporteret. Etenim, si posset reus absente accusatore condemnari, non ego a Vibone Veliam parvulo navigio inter fugitivorum ac praedonum ac tua tela venissem, quo tempore omnis illa mea festinatio fuit cum periculo capitis, ob eam causam, ne tu ex reis eximerere si ego ad diem non adfuissem. Quod igitur tibi erat in tuo iudicio optatissimum, me cum citatus essem non adesse, cur Sthenio non putasti prodesse oportere, cum eius accusator non adfuisset? Itaque fecit ut exitus principio

request of you at the instance of some friend, and from motives of kindliness or self-interest, even so you should have paid the utmost respect to a parent's wishes; and when he asked you to do it to save yourself from ruin, and sent responsible messengers to you from home for the purpose, who reached you at a time when you had not finally committed yourself, could you not even so be recalled to duty and common sense by respect, if not for your father, at least for your own safety?—He summoned the accused; there was no answer. He summoned the prosecutor; and I would bid you mark, gentlemen, how mightily Fortune herself fought against this madman, and note at the same time how chance helped the cause of Sthenius: the prosecutor, Marcus Pacilius, by some chance or other did not answer, did not appear. Now if Sthenius had been 99
there to meet the charge in person, had his guilt been manifest and undeniable, even so, with no prosecutor there, it would have been wrong to convict him. Why, if it were possible for an accused man to be convicted with his prosecutor absent, I should never have made that voyage in a small boat from Vibo to Velia, risking the murderous assaults of revolted slaves and pirates—and your own; I hurried forward the whole of my journey then at the risk of my life, simply in order that my failure to appear at the time appointed should not mean your liberation from the ranks of the accused. You could have desired nothing better in your own trial than that I should not be there when called upon: why did you not hold that Sthenius had a right to the same advantage when *his* prosecutor failed to appear? And so the last stage of his proceedings

simillimus reperiretur: quem absentem reum fecerat, eum absente accusatore condemnat.

100 XLI. Nuntiabatur illi primis illis temporibus id quod pater quoque ad eum pluribus verbis scripserat, agitatam rem esse in senatu; etiam in contione tribunum plebis de causa Sthenii M. Palicanum esse questum; postremo me ipsum apud hoc collegium tribunorum plebis, cum eorum omnium edicto non liceret Romae quemquam esse qui rei capitalis condemnatus esset, egisse causam Sthenii, et cum rem ita exposuissem quem ad modum nunc apud vos, docuissemque hanc damnationem duci non oportere, x tribunos plebis hoc statuisse, idque de omnium sententia pronuntiatum esse, NON VIDERI STHENIUM IMPEDIRI EDICTO QUO MINUS EI LICERET ROMAE ESSE.

101 Cum haec ad istum afferrentur, pertimuit aliquando et commotus est; vertit stilum in tabulis suis, quo facto causam omnem evertit suam; nihil enim sibi reliqui fecit quod defendi aliqua ratione posset. Nam si ita defenderet, "Recipi nomen absentis licet; hoc fieri in provincia nulla lex vetat," mala et improba defensione, verum aliqua tamen uti videretur; postremo illo desperatissimo perfugio uti posset, se imprudentem fecisse, existimasse id licere; quamquam haec perditissima defensio est, tamen aliquid

[a] They published every year an official list of outlawed persons.

was like the first. He had allowed Sthenius to be prosecuted when Sthenius himself was absent; and now, when the prosecutor was absent, he pronounced Sthenius guilty.

XLI. News was brought to him very soon afterwards, and his father had told him too, in a long letter, that his action had been discussed in the Senate; further, that a tribune of the people, Marcus Palicanus, had denounced the proceedings against Sthenius at a public meeting; and lastly, that I myself had approached the corporation of tribunes, had pleaded the case of Sthenius as affected by their corporate proclamation banishing from Rome all persons convicted of capital offences,[a] had set the facts before them (as I have just set them before yourselves), and had argued that this sentence ought not to be treated as a valid conviction; whereupon all ten tribunes had agreed, and a resolution had been carried unanimously, *That in the opinion of this body the proclamation of banishment from Rome does not apply to Sthenius.* 100

When this news reached Verres, he was at last thoroughly frightened and upset; and then he applied the blunt end of his style[b] to his records, thereby making an end of all his chances of acquittal, for he has left himself no loop-hole for any sort of defence. For if he were to plead thus, "The prosecution of an absent person is legal, there is no law to forbid this in the provinces," it would be held a weak and immoral line of defence, but still a defence of a kind; or as a last desperate resort he might have pleaded that he acted in ignorance, thinking it was legal; this would be a quite hopeless defence, but at least it 101

[b] To erase what was written.

dici videretur. Tollit ex tabulis id quod erat, et facit coram delatum esse.

102 XLII. Hic videte in quot se laqueos induerit, quorum ex nullo se umquam expediet. Primum, ipse in Sicilia saepe et palam de loco superiore dixerat, et in sermone multis demonstrarat, licere nomen recipere absentis, se exemplo fecisse quod fecisset. Haec eum dictitasse priore actione et Sex. Pompeius Chlorus dixit, de cuius virtute antea commemoravi, et Cn. Pompeius Theodorus, homo et Cn. Pompeii clarissimi viri iudicio plurimis maximisque in rebus probatissimus et omnium existimatione ornatissimus, et Posides Macro Soluntinus, homo summa nobilitate, existimatione, virtute ornatissimus; et hac actione quam voletis multi dicent, et qui ex isto ipso audierunt viri primarii nostri ordinis, et alii qui interfuerunt cum absentis nomen reciperetur. Deinde Romae, cum res esset acta in senatu, omnes istius amici, in his etiam pater eius hoc defendebat, licere fieri, saepe esse factum, istum quod fecisset aliorum exemplo institutoque fecisse.

103 Dicit praeterea testimonium tota Sicilia, quae in communibus postulatis civitatum omnium consulibus edidit, rogare atque orare patres conscriptos ut statuerent ne absentium nomina reciperentur.

would have some show of reason. He expunged the true statement from the records, and made them read that Sthenius was present when prosecuted.

XLII. And now observe the number of different 102
nooses he has thus put round his neck—from none of which will he ever get it free. First, he himself in Sicily had frequently, publicly and officially stated, and had argued in many private conversations, that to allow the prosecution of a person in his absence was legal, that he had precedent for doing what he had done. Evidence that he had repeatedly said this was given at the first hearing by Sextus Pompeius Chlorus, of whose high character I have already spoken; by Gnaeus Pompeius Theodorus, a man whose conduct of many important affairs has won the full approval of the eminent Gnaeus Pompeius, and whose reputation everywhere stands very high; and by Posides Macro of Solus, a man of the highest standing, reputation, and character. Similar evidence shall be given at this hearing by as many witnesses as you care to hear, both by leading members of our own Order who heard the above statement from his own lips, and by others who were present when he allowed the prosecution of Sthenius in absence. Next, when this affair was brought up in the Senate at Rome, all his friends, including his father, pleaded just this on his behalf—that his action was legal, that it had often been done before, that he had a precedent set up by other
persons for doing what he did. Further, all Sicily 103
testifies to this fact, in the general petition addressed to the consuls by all her cities, wherein she prays and entreats this honourable House to decree the prohibition of all prosecutions of absent persons. You

Qua de re Cn. Lentulum, patronum Siciliae, clarissimum adulescentem, dicere audistis Siculos, cum se causam quae sibi in senatu pro his agenda esset docerent, de Sthenii calamitate questos esse, propterque hanc iniuriam quae Sthenio facta esset eos statuisse ut hoc quod dico postularetur.
104 Quae cum ita essent, tantane amentia praeditus atque audacia fuisti ut in re tam clara, tam testata, tam abs te ipso pervulgata, tabulas publicas corrumpere auderes? At quem ad modum corrupisti? nonne ita ut omnibus nobis tacentibus ipsae tuae te tabulae condemnare possent? Cedo, quaeso, codicem; circumfer, ostende. Videtisne totum hoc nomen, coram ubi facit delatum, esse in litura? Quid fuit istic antea scriptum? quod mendum ista litura correxit? Quid a nobis, iudices, exspectatis argumenta huius criminis? Nihil dicimus; tabulae sunt in medio, quae se corruptas atque interlitas esse
105 clamant. Ex istis etiam tu rebus effugere te posse confidis, cum te nos non opinione dubia sed tuis vestigiis persequamur, quae tu in tabulis publicis expressa ac recentia reliquisti? Is mihi etiam Sthenium litteras publicas corrupisse causa incognita iudicavit, qui defendere non poterit se non in ipsius Sthenii nomine litteras publicas corrupisse?

106 XLIII. Videte porro aliam amentiam; videte ut, dum expedire sese vult, induat. Cognitorem ascribit Sthenio; quem? Cognatum aliquem aut propin-

have heard what that distinguished young champion of Sicily, Gnaeus Lentulus, had to tell you about this: that when the Sicilians were putting before him the issue on which he was to support their interests in the Senate, they denounced the treatment of the unhappy Sthenius, and that it was precisely this wrong done to Sthenius that made them resolve to present the
petition I speak of. In the face of all this, how could 104
you be possessed with such frantic recklessness as to alter an official document that stated a fact so clearly true, so fully confirmed, and by your own action so widely known? And how did you effect the alteration? Why, in such a fashion that your own tablets would be enough to convict you without a word said by any of us here. Let us have the volume, please; carry it round, and show it to the Court. Do you see, gentlemen, how the whole passage that states that Sthenius was there when prosecuted is written over an erasure? What was written there before? what was the slip corrected by that erasure? Why should this Court feel that *we* must prove this charge? We hold our tongues; the documents are before you, proclaiming themselves altered and interpolated.
Do you think to escape our pursuit here, where we are 105
tracking you with the help not of vague conjectures but of your own footprints, left clear and fresh on this official document? Do I find that the man who without trial convicted Sthenius of altering an official record is a man who cannot deny that, dealing with this same Sthenius, he has altered an official record himself?

XLIII. Next note another piece of folly; note how, 106
trying to free himself, he entangles himself further. He assigns Sthenius an attorney; and who is it?

quum? Non. Thermitanum aliquem, honestum hominem ac nobilem? Ne id quidem. At Siculum, in quo aliquis splendor dignitasque esset? Neminem. Quid igitur? Civem Romanum. Cui hoc probari potest? Cum esset Sthenius civitatis suae nobilissimus, amplissima cognatione, plurimis amicitiis, cum praeterea tota Sicilia multum auctoritate et gratia posset, invenire neminem Siculum potuit qui pro se cognitor fieret? Hoc probabis? An ipse civem Romanum maluit? Cedo cui Siculo, cum is reus fieret, civis Romanus cognitor factus umquam sit. Omnium praetorum litteras qui ante te fuerunt profer, explica: si unum inveneris, ego hoc tibi, quem ad modum in tabulis scriptum habes, ita gestum
107 esse concedam. At, credo, Sthenius hoc sibi amplum putavit, eligere ex civium Romanorum numero, ex amicorum atque hospitum suorum copia, quem cognitorem daret. Quem delegit? quis in tabulis scriptus est? C. Claudius C. F. Palatina. Non quaero quis hic sit Claudius, quam splendidus, quam honestus, quam idoneus propter cuius auctoritatem et dignitatem Sthenius ab omnium Siculorum consuetudine discederet et civem Romanum cognitorem daret. Nihil horum quaero; fortasse enim Sthenius non splendorem hominis sed familiaritatem secutus est. Quid? si omnium mortalium Sthenio nemo inimicior quam hic C. Claudius cum semper tum in his ipsis rebus et temporibus fuit, si de litteris corruptis contra venit, si contra omni ratione pug-

Some kinsman or connexion of his? No. Some respectable and important citizen of Thermae? Not that either. Some other Sicilian, then, of appreciable prominence and worth? No one of the kind. Then who is it? A Roman citizen. Now who will let that pass? Sthenius was the most important man in his community; his family was extensive, his friendships numerous; in addition, his influence and popularity made him count for much all through Sicily: could he then find no Sicilian to stand attorney for him? Will you make us believe that? Or did he himself prefer a Roman citizen? Quote me a single case of an accused Sicilian whose attorney has been a Roman citizen. Go through the records of all the praetors who have preceded you, and if you find one such case, I will admit that what you have written in that record
is what did happen. But we are to suppose, perhaps, 107
that Sthenius thought it would look well to choose out of the ranks of our Roman citizens—out of his large circle of friends and guests—someone to be his attorney. Whom, then, did he choose? Whose name appears in the record? "Gaius Claudius, son of Gaius Claudius, of the Palatine tribe." Now I will not ask who this Claudius is, how eminent or respected he is, or how far his influence and merit might properly lead Sthenius to disregard the regular Sicilian custom and offer a Roman citizen as his attorney. I will ask no such questions; for I daresay Sthenius was guided in his choice not by the man's eminence but by his friendship for himself. Well then, if it is true that no man living was a more bitter enemy of Sthenius than this Claudius, his enemy always, but most of all in this affair and at this time; if he appeared against Sthenius in this forgery charge, and fought against

navit, utrum potius pro Sthenio inimicum cognitorem esse factum an te ad Sthenii periculum inimici eius nomine abusum esse credemus?

108 XLIV. Ac ne qui forte dubitet cuius modi totum sit negotium, tametsi iam dudum omnibus istius improbitatem perspicuam esse confido, tamen paulum etiam attendite. Videtis illum subcrispo capillo, nigrum, qui eo vultu nos intuetur ut sibi ipsi peracutus esse videatur, qui tabulas tenet, qui scribit, qui monet, qui proximus est. Is est C. Claudius, qui in Sicilia sequester istius, interpres, confector negotiorum, prope collega Timarchidi numerabatur, nunc obtinet eum locum ut vix Apronio illi de familiaritate concedere videatur, et[1] qui se non Timarchidi sed
109 ipsius Verris collegam et socium esse dicebat. Dubitate etiam, si potestis, quin eum iste potissimum ex omni numero delegerit cui hanc cognitoris falsi improbam personam imponeret, quem et huic inimicissimum et sibi amicissimum esse arbitraretur. Hic vos dubitabitis, iudices, tantam istius audaciam, tantam crudelitatem, tantam iniuriam vindicare? Dubitabitis exemplum illorum iudicum sequi qui damnato Cn. Dolabella damnationem Philodami Opuntii resciderunt, quod is non absens reus factus esset, quae res iniquissima et acerbissima est, sed

[1] *The* MSS. *read* et *for* ei, *which is Benedict's conjecture*; et *makes very fair sense*: *Claudius was considered nearly on a level with Timarchides, but thought and described himself as higher still.*

him with every weapon available; shall we prefer to believe that Sthenius's enemy became his attorney in order to save him, or that *you* have made a false use of that enemy's name in order that Sthenius might be ruined?

XLIV. Now to remove any possible doubt as to the meaning of the whole business, although I feel sure that this man's wickedness has long been transparent to all of you, I ask your attention a little further. You observe yonder person with delicate curls and dark complexion, who is looking at us with what he is pleased to consider a very sharp expression, handling documents, writing notes, making suggestions, sitting close to Verres. That is Claudius, who in Sicily was Verres' agent and go-between and business manager, and had an official rank nearly on a level with Timarchides, and who is now so highly placed that he would seem to enjoy the great man's confidence hardly less than the notable Apronius; who used to call himself the official equal and coadjutor not of Timarchides but of Verres himself. You may hesitate, if you still can, to conclude that Verres chose him specially out of all the rest to play the wicked part of counterfeit attorney simply because he looked upon him as the worst enemy of Sthenius and his own best friend. And now will you hesitate, gentlemen, to inflict the punishment that all this insolence, this inhumanity, this tyranny of his deserves? Will you hesitate to follow the precedent set by the court which upon the conviction of Gnaeus Dolabella annulled the conviction of Philodamus of Opus, because he had been prosecuted, not in his absence—nothing so unjust and cruel as that—but

cum ei legatio iam Romam a suis civibus esset data? Quod illi iudices multo in leviore causa statuerunt aequitatem secuti, vos id statuere in gravissima causa, praesertim aliorum auctoritate iam confirmatum, dubitabitis?

110 XLV. At quem hominem, C. Verres, tanta tam insigni iniuria affecisti? quem hominem absentem de litteris corruptis causa incognita condemnasti? cuius absentis nomen recepisti? quem absentem non modo sine crimine et sine teste verum etiam sine accusatore damnasti? Quem hominem? di immortales! non dicam amicum tuum, quod apud homines clarissimum est, non hospitem, quod sanctissimum est; nihil enim minus libenter de Sthenio commemoro, nihil aliud in eo quod reprehendi possit invenio, nisi quod homo frugalissimus atque integerrimus te, hominem plenum stupri flagitii sceleris, domum suam invitavit; nisi quod qui C. Marii, Cn. Pompeii, C. Marcelli, L. Sisennae, tui defensoris, ceterorum virorum fortissimorum hospes fuisset atque esset, ad eum numerum clarissimorum hominum tuum quoque nomen ascripsit.

111 Quare de hospitio violato et de tuo isto scelere nefario nihil queror: hoc dico, non iis qui Sthenium norunt, hoc est, nemini eorum qui in Sicilia fuerunt; nemo enim ignorat quo hic in civitate

after being appointed by his fellow-citizens member of a deputation to visit Rome? Equity induced that court to take that decision on grounds comparatively weak: will you hesitate to take a similar decision when the grounds for it are very strong, especially now that it is supported by the authority of a precedent?

XLV. Yes, Verres, and what manner of man is 110
it to whom you have done so great and conspicuous a wrong? Who is this whom, absent and untried, you have pronounced guilty of forgery? Who is this whom you have allowed, in his absence, to be prosecuted? Who is this whom you have convicted, in his absence, not only without any speech or evidence for the prosecution, but without even the presence of the prosecutor? Who is this man? God help me, I will not say that you were bound to him by friendship, which is the most glorious thing in the world, nor by hospitality, which is the most sacred; for there is nothing that I am more unwilling to record of Sthenius, nor can I observe any other thing in him that is open to censure, than that so upright and honest living a man as he is invited to his house a licentious and filthy criminal like yourself; than that, having been or still being the host of Gaius Marius, Gnaeus Pompeius, Gaius Marcellus, Lucius Sisenna, your present supporter, and all those other gallant gentlemen, he has added to that roll of illustrious persons your name also. I 111
do not therefore denounce the violation of hospitality and your abominable crime in violating it. What I have to say is this, and I say it, not to those who know Sthenius, not, in other words, to anyone who has ever been in Sicily—for all such persons know how pre-eminent he is in his own city, and how

sua splendore, qua apud omnes Siculos dignitate atque existimatione sit: sed ut illi quoque qui in ea provincia non fuerunt intellegere possint in quo homine tu statueris exemplum eius modi, quod cum propter iniquitatem rei tum etiam propter hominis dignitatem acerbum omnibus atque in-
112 tolerandum videretur. XLVI. Estne Sthenius is qui, omnes honores domi suae facillime cum adeptus esset, amplissime ac magnificentissime gessit; qui oppidum non maximum maximis ex pecunia sua locis communibus monumentisque decoravit; cuius de meritis in rem publicam Thermitanorum Siculosque universos fuit aenea tabula fixa Thermis in curia, in qua publice erat de huius beneficiis scriptum et incisum? quae tabula tum imperio tuo revulsa, nunc a me tamen deportata est, ut omnes huius honores inter suos et amplitudinem possent cognoscere.
113 Estne hic qui apud Cn. Pompeium, clarissimum virum, cum accusatus esset, quod propter C. Marii familiaritatem et hospitium contra rem publicam sensisse eum inimici et accusatores eius dicerent, cumque magis invidioso crimine quam vero arcesseretur, ita a Cn. Pompeio absolutus est ut in eo ipso iudicio Pompeius hunc hospitio suo dignissimum statueret? ita porro laudatus defensusque ab omnibus Siculis ut idem Pompeius non ab homine solum, sed etiam a provincia tota,

[a] Evidently a cautious allusion to proceedings in the time of the Sullan proscriptions.

great his worth and reputation are in the eyes of all Sicilians; but I would enable even those persons who have never been in the province to know the character of the man whom you have chosen to mark by treatment which all, whether they looked to the injustice of the deed itself or to the high merit of the sufferer, accounted an intolerable piece of
brutality. XLVI. Can Sthenius be the man who 112
attained with ease all the posts of authority in his own city, and discharged their responsibilities with splendid liberality? the man who at his own cost adorned his little town by erecting splendid public buildings and works of art, whose services to the state of Thermae and to the Sicilians generally are attested by a bronze tablet set up in the Senate-house at Thermae, engraved with an inscription officially recording his benefactions? Which tablet, torn down by your orders at the time, I have none the less now brought over here, that all men might learn of the honours and the greatness
which he has achieved among his own people. Can 113
this be the man who was denounced to the illustrious Gnaeus Pompeius, on the ground, as his enemies who denounced him argued, that his relations of friendship and hospitality with Gaius Marius proved him to have been disloyal to his country [a]—a charge that, however false, had much power to excite ill-will against him; and who nevertheless was acquitted of the charge by Pompeius, in terms that of themselves declared him fully worthy to be host or guest of Pompeius himself? and who, moreover, was eulogized and defended by all the Sicilians so warmly that Pompeius felt himself to be earning, by that acquittal, not only the man's own gratitude

se huius absolutione inire gratiam arbitraretur? Postremo, estne hic qui et animum in rem publicam habuit eius modi, et tantum auctoritate apud suos cives potuit, ut perficeret in Sicilia solus te praetore, quod non modo Siculus nemo, sed ne Sicilia quidem tota potuisset, ut ex oppido Thermis nullum signum, nullum ornamentum, nihil ex sacro, nihil de publico attingeres, cum praesertim et essent
114 multa praeclara et tu omnia concupisses? Denique nunc vide quid inter te, cuius nomine apud Siculos dies festi agitantur et praeclara illa Verria celebrantur, cui statuae Romae stant inauratae, a communi Siciliae, quem ad modum inscriptum videmus, datae —vide, inquam, quid inter te et hunc Siculum, qui abs te est patrono Siciliae condemnatus, intersit. Hunc civitates ex Sicilia permultae testimonio suo legationibusque ad eam rem missis publice laudant: te, omnium Siculorum patronum, una Mamertina civitas, socia furtorum ac flagitiorum tuorum, publice laudat—ita tamen novo more ut legati laedant, legatio laudet; ceterae quidem civitates publice litteris, legationibus, testimoniis accusant, queruntur, arguunt; si tu absolutus sis, se funditus eversas esse arbitrantur.

115 XLVII. Hoc de homine ac de huius bonis etiam in Eryco monte monumentum tuorum flagitiorum crudelitatisque posuisti, in quo Sthenii Thermitani

but that of the whole province? Finally, can this be the man who had so much love for his city, and so much power over his fellow-citizens, that he achieved what no one else in Sicily achieved throughout your praetorship, what was beyond the power not only of any other single Sicilian but of all Sicily together —he kept your hands off every statue and every work of art, everything sacred to the gods, or owned by the state; and that although there were many things of high merit there, and you had resolved
to have them all? And now compare with yourself, 114
in whose honour the people of Sicily keep holiday and celebrate the sublime Festival of Verres—yourself, gilt statues of whom are set up in Rome, the joint offering (so the inscription informs us) of the Sicilian population—compare with yourself, I repeat, this Sicilian who has been condemned as a criminal by you, the champion of Sicily. His merits are attested, directly and officially, through the mouths of deputies sent here for that purpose, by one Sicilian city after another. You, the champion of all Sicily, have your merits officially attested by one city alone, the city of the Mamertines, your partner in robbery and rascality—though, what is unusual, while the deputation lauds your virtues the deputies lash your vices; whereas all the other cities officially send us letters and deputations and witnesses to accuse and denounce and convict you, and are persuaded that your acquittal would mean their own complete destruction.

XLVII. At the expense of this man, and of this 115
man's estate you have actually set up on Mount Eryx a memorial of your barbarous wickedness that bears the name of Sthenius of Thermae upon it.

nomen ascriptum est Vidi argenteum Cupidinem cum lampade. Quid tandem habuit argumenti aut rationis res quam ob rem in eo potissimum Sthenianum praemium poneretur? Utrum hoc signum cupiditatis tuae, an tropaeum necessitudinis atque hospitii, an amoris indicium esse voluisti? Faciunt hoc homines quos in summa nequitia non solum libido et voluptas, verum etiam ipsius nequitiae fama delectat, ut multis in locis notas ac vestigia suorum
116 flagitiorum relinqui velint. Ardebat amore illius hospitae, propter quam hospitii iura violarat; hoc non solum sciri tum, verum etiam commemorari semper volebat; itaque ex illa ipsa re quam accusante Agathino gesserat Veneri potissimum deberi praemium statuit, quae illam totam accusationem iudiciumque conflarat. Putarem te gratum in deos si hoc donum Veneri non de Sthenii bonis dedisses sed de tuis: quod facere debuisti, praesertim cum tibi illo ipso anno a Chelidone venisset hereditas.

117 Hic ego, si hanc causam non omnium Siculorum rogatu recepissem; si hoc a me muneris non universa provincia poposcisset; si me animus atque amor in rem publicam existimatioque offensa nostri ordinis ac iudiciorum non hoc facere coegisset; atque haec una causa fuisset, quod amicum atque hospitem meum Sthenium, quem ego in quaestura mea singulariter

[a] *Gesserat* is ironically used for *fecerat*, with allusion to the common phrase *res gesta*, "exploit."

I have seen it—a silver Cupid, holding a torch. Now may I ask what justification or reason there was for applying the profit made out of Sthenius for *that* particular purpose? Did you intend this statue to be a symbol of cupidity, or a token of friendship and hospitality, or a record of your amour? It is the way of those men who take delight not only in the sensual excitement of vicious excess, but also in their reputation as vicious persons, to like leaving behind them everywhere the marks and footprints of their evil deeds. Inflamed with 116
desire for his hostess, he had for her sake profaned the tie that bound him to his former host; this fact he wished to have not merely known at the time but remembered for ever; so he decided that out of the fortune which, with the help of the woman's father as prosecutor, he had so nobly won,[a] a fee was specially due to the goddess of Love, whose work the whole underhand business of the prosecution and trial was. I could believe you grateful to heaven if you had made this offering to Venus not out of the property of Sthenius but out of your own; that is what you ought to have done; especially as that very year you had had a legacy from Chelidon.

And now let me say this. Even had I not been 117
persuaded to undertake this case by the whole Sicilian people; had the province not united to entreat me to do it thus much service; had my loyal devotion to my country, had the cloud that rests on the good name of our Order and of these courts of law, not compelled me to do as I am doing; had my sole motive been that you have treated my friend and host Sthenius, for whom I felt, during my quaestorship, the warmest friendship and the

dilexissem, de quo optime existimassem, quem in provincia existimationis meae studiosissimum cupidissimumque cognossem, tam crudeliter scelerate nefarieque tractasses :—tamen digna causa videretur cur inimicitias hominis improbissimi susciperem, ut
118 hospitis salutem fortunasque defenderem. Fecerunt hoc multi apud maiores nostros ; fecit etiam nuper homo clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui M. Silanum consularem virum accusavit propter Aegritomari Transalpini hospitis iniurias. Putarem me idoneum qui exemplum sequerer humanitatis atque officii, proponeremque spem meis hospitibus ac necessariis quo tutiorem sese vitam meo praesidio victuros esse arbitrarentur. Cum vero in communibus iniuriis totius provinciae Sthenii quoque causa contineatur, multique uno tempore a me hospites atque amici publice privatimque defendantur, profecto vereri non debeo ne quis hoc quod facio non existimet me summi officii ratione impulsum coactumque suscepisse.

XLVIII. Atque ut aliquando de rebus ab isto cognitis iudicatisque et de iudiciis datis dicere desistamus, et, quoniam facta istius in his generibus infinita sunt, nos modum aliquem et finem orationi nostrae criminibusque faciamus, pauca ex aliis
119 generibus sumemus. Audistis ob ius dicendum Q. Varium dicere procuratores suos isti centum et triginta milia nummum dedisse; meministis Q.

highest respect, and to whom, I knew well, my own reputation in the province was an object of earnest solicitude—that you have treated that man with the abominable and wicked brutality which I have described :—even then I should feel the protection of this kind friend's happiness and fortune a sufficient reason for incurring this foul scoundrel's enmity.
In the days of our forefathers, many have acted thus ; 118
and thus, not long since, did the eminent Gnaeus Domitius act, when he prosecuted the ex-consul Marcus Silanus for the wrong done to his former host, Aegritomarus of Transalpine Gaul. I should feel that I might well copy so humane and upright an action. I should offer those who have given me hospitality and friendship some reason to think that they will live lives of greater security because I am here to protect them. But when I find that the case of Sthenius is but one detail in the general catalogue of a whole province's wrongs, and that I am simultaneously defending, as citizens and as individuals, not one but many of my old hosts and friends, then, surely, I need not be afraid of being supposed to have undertaken to do what I am doing from any motive, or under any obligation, beyond the recognition of what is my bounden duty.

XLVIII. Now I cannot prolong indefinitely my tale of the cases Verres tried, the sentences he pronounced, the proceedings he authorized. His misdeeds of this kind are without number ; but my list of charges must be cut short, or my speech will never be done. I will
therefore select a few instances of other kinds. You 119
have heard the statement of Quintus Varius that his agents paid Verres £1300 to secure a favourable decision; you remember the evidence that Varius

Varii testimonium, remque hanc totam C. Sacerdotis, hominis ornatissimi, testimonio comprobari. Scitis Cn. Sertium, M. Modium, equites Romanos, sescentos praeterea cives Romanos multosque Siculos dixisse se isti pecuniam ob ius dicendum dedisse. De quo crimine quid ego disputem, cum id totum positum sit in testibus? quid porro argumenter, qua de re dubitare nemo possit? An hoc dubitabit quisquam omnium, quin is venalem in Sicilia iurisdictionem habuerit qui Romae totum edictum atque omnia decreta vendiderit? et quin is ab Siculis ob decreta interponenda pecuniam acceperit qui M. Octavium Ligurem pecuniam ob ius dicendum popo-
120 scerit? Quod enim iste praeterea genus pecuniae cogendae praeteriit? quod non ab omnibus aliis praeteritum excogitavit? Ecqua res apud civitates Siculas expetitur, in qua aut honos aliquis sit aut potestas aut procuratio, quin eam rem tu ad tuum quaestum nundinationemque hominum traduxeris? XLIX. Dicta sunt priore actione et privatim et publice testimonia; legati Centuripini Halaesini Catinenses Panhormitanique dixerunt, multarum praeterea civitatum, iam vero privatim plurimi. Quorum ex testimoniis cognoscere potuistis tota Sicilia per triennium neminem ulla in civitate senatorem factum esse gratis, neminem ut leges eorum sunt suffragiis, neminem nisi istius imperio aut

[a] Orders for the possession of disputed property pending the final settlement of the dispute.

gave, and how the facts of the whole case are established by the evidence of the eminent Gaius Sacerdos. You are aware that the Roman knights Gnaeus Sertius and Marcus Modius, scores of other Roman citizens, and a large number of Sicilians, have stated that they paid Verres money to secure favourable decisions. Need I discuss this kind of charge, when it is so wholly a matter of the evidence of witnesses? Need I labour to prove the facts where their truth can be questioned by nobody? Will anyone at all question the fact that he offered his judicial decisions for sale there in Sicily, when we know that he did sell his edict entire, and his judicial orders wholesale, here in Rome? Or that he accepted money from Sicilians for making provisional orders,[a] when he demanded money from Marcus Octavius
Ligus for pronouncing a final judgement? Why, what 120
further methods of extorting money has he neglected? What possible methods, neglected by everyone else, has he not devised?—Is there any object of ambition in the cities of Sicily, any post of any honour or power or responsibility, that you have not converted to your own profit by your trafficking in human beings? XLIX. The evidence of this, both official and unofficial, has been given at the first hearing; given by official deputies from Centuripa, from Halaesa, from Catina, from Panhormus, from many other cities; and given also by a host of unofficial witnesses. The evidence of these persons has sufficed to show you, gentlemen, that throughout Sicily for three years the rank of senator has never, in one single city, been conferred free of charge, never by the method of election which their laws prescribe, never otherwise than by Verres' spoken or written orders; that in

litteris; atque in his omnibus senatoribus cooptandis non modo suffragia nulla fuisse, sed ne genera quidem spectata esse ex quibus in eum ordinem cooptari liceret, neque census neque aetates neque cetera
121 Siculorum iura valuisse; quicumque senator voluerit fieri, quamvis puer, quamvis indignus, quamvis ex eo loco ex quo non liceret, si is pretio apud istum idoneos vinceret,[1] factum esse semper; non modo Siculorum nihil in hac re valuisse leges, sed ne ab senatu quidem populoque Romano datas. Quas enim leges sociis amicisque dat is qui habet imperium a populo Romano, auctoritatem legum dandarum ab senatu, eae debent et populi Romani et senatus existimari.

122 Halaesini, pro multis et magnis suis maiorumque suorum in rem publicam nostram meritis atque beneficiis suo iure, nuper, L. Licinio Q. Mucio consulibus, cum haberent inter se controversias de senatu cooptando, leges ab senatu nostro petiverunt. Decrevit senatus honorifico senatus consulto ut iis C. Claudius Appii filius Pulcher praetor de senatu cooptando leges conscriberet. C. Claudius, adhibitis omnibus Marcellis qui tum erant, de eorum sententia leges Halaesinis dedit, in quibus multa sanxit de aetate hominum, ne qui minor triginta annis natus; de quaestu, quem qui fecisset ne legeretur; de censu,

[1] *The* MSS. *show a variety of readings here, of which the two oldest seem to be* idoneus vinceret *and* idoneus esset. *The emendation in the text is supported by Madvig and others, and is Mueller's reading.*

[a] 95 B.C.

[b] These traditional patrons of Sicily were an important branch of the Claudian clan.

filling all those senatorial vacancies there have not only been no elections, but not even any attention paid to the legal qualifications for membership, that neither wealth, nor age, nor any other qualification recognized in Sicily, has been of any value; that anyone who 121 wished to become a senator, however young or incapable or disqualified by his legal standing, had only to pay Verres a larger bribe than more suitable people offered, and a senator he invariably became; and that in this matter it was not only the local Sicilian laws that were completely set aside, but even the laws given by the Senate and Roman People; by them, I say, for when laws are given to our allies and friends by a man who has received his military power from the People and his legislative authority from the Senate, those laws must be held to be the gift of both the People and the Senate.

The people of Halaesa were made independent in 122
recognition of the many valuable services and benefits rendered to Rome by themselves and their ancestors; but not long ago, in the consulship of Lucius Licinius and Quintus Mucius,[a] owing to an internal dispute regarding the way of filling vacancies in their Senate, they asked the Roman Senate to legislate for them. The Senate honoured them by passing a decree appointing the praetor Gaius Claudius Pulcher (son of Appius Claudius) to draw up for them regulations for filling the aforesaid vacancies. Claudius, having secured the help of all the contemporary members of the Marcellus family,[b] in accordance with their advice provided Halaesa with regulations, laying down a number of points, such as the age of candidates (those under thirty were excluded), the professions disqualifying for membership, the property qualification,

de ceteris rebus. Quae omnia ante istum praetorem et nostrorum magistratuum auctoritate et Halaesinorum summa voluntate valuerunt. Ab isto et praeco qui voluit istum ordinem pretio mercatus est, et pueri annorum senum septenumque denum senatorium nomen nundinati sunt; et quod Halaesini, antiquissimi et fidelissimi socii atque amici, Romae impetrarant, ut apud se ne suffragiis quidem fieri liceret, id pretio ut fieri posset effecit.

123 L. Agrigentini de senatu cooptando Scipionis leges antiquas habent, in quibus et illa eadem sancta sunt et hoc amplius: cum Agrigentinorum duo genera sint, unum veterum, alterum colonorum quos T. Manlius praetor ex senatus consulto de oppidis Siculorum deduxit Agrigentum, cautum est in Scipionis legibus ne plures essent in senatu ex colonorum numero quam ex vetere Agrigentinorum. Iste, qui omnia iura pretio exaequasset omniumque rerum dilectum atque discrimen pecunia sustulisset, non modo illa quae erant aetatis ordinis quaestusque permiscuit, sed etiam in his duobus generibus civium
124 novorum veterumque turbavit. Nam cum esset ex veterum numero quidam senator demortuus, et cum ex utroque genere par numerus reliquus esset, veterem cooptari necesse erat legibus, ut is amplior numerus esset. Quae cum ita se res haberet, tamen ad istum emptum venerunt illum locum senatorium non solum veteres verum etiam novi. Fit ut pretio

and all such other points. All these regulations, supported by our magistrates and thoroughly approved by the inhabitants, were faithfully observed until Verres became praetor. Verres was bribed to sell the title to an auctioneer who wanted it; from Verres boys of sixteen and seventeen purchased the rank of senator. The right to prohibit such things, even by election, had been granted, at Rome, to our old and faithful friend and ally Halaesa; and Verres made such things possible to those who bribed him!

L. Agrigentum has ancient laws, made by Scipio, 123
controlling elections to its Senate; these contain the same provisions as those mentioned, and the following one besides. There are two classes of Agrigentines; one comprises the old population, the other the settlers from Sicilian towns whom, by order of our Senate, the praetor Titus Manlius established in Agrigentum. In view of this, the laws of Scipio provided that the number of settlers in the Senate should not exceed that of the original inhabitants. Verres, always a leveller of privileges when bribed, and ready to remove distinctions and discriminations everywhere if paid to do it, not only blotted out all those of age, rank, and profession, but also made confusion of that concerning the two classes of citizens,
the new and the old. A senator belonging to the old 124
class died; and since an equal number of senators of either class then remained, the election in his place of a member of the old class was legally necessary, in order that this class might be in the majority. In spite of this, the would-be purchasers of this place in the Senate who now approached Verres included members of the new class as well as of the old. The

novus vincat litterasque a praetore afferat Agrigentum. Agrigentini ad istum legatos mittunt, qui eum leges doceant consuetudinemque omnium annorum demonstrent, ut iste intellegeret ei se illum locum vendidisse cui ne commercium quidem esse oporteret. Quorum oratione iste, cum pretium iam accepisset,
125 ne tantulum quidem commotus est. Idem fecit Heracleae. Nam eo quoque colonos P. Rupilius deduxit, legesque similes de cooptando senatu et de numero veterum ac novorum dedit. Ibi non solum iste ut apud ceteros pecuniam accepit, sed etiam genera veterum ac novorum numerumque permiscuit. LI. Nolite exspectare, dum omnes obeam oratione mea civitates: hoc uno complector omnia, neminem isto praetore senatorem fieri potuisse nisi qui isti pecuniam dedisset.

126 Hoc idem transfero in magistratus, curationes, sacerdotia; quibus in rebus non solum hominum iura sed etiam deorum immortalium religiones omnes repudiavit. Syracusis lex est de religione, quae in annos singulos Iovis sacerdotem sortito capi iubeat, quod apud illos amplissimum sacerdotium putatur;
127 cum suffragiis tres ex tribus generibus creati sunt, res revocatur ad sortem. Perfecerat iste imperio ut pro suffragio Theomnastus familiaris suus in tribus illis renuntiaretur; in sorte, cui imperare non poterat,[1] exspectabant homines quidnam acturus

[1] potuerat *the best MSS., followed by Peterson; but the sense thus given seems impossibly grotesque.*

result was that a new man offered most, succeeded, and came back to Agrigentum with an order from the praetor. The Agrigentines sent Verres a deputation, to tell him what the law was, and to point out that it had been observed without a break, so that he might be aware that he had sold the place to a man who ought not to have been allowed even to bargain for it. Having already received his bribe, he was not affected in the smallest degree by what they said. At Hera- 125
clea he behaved in the same way. Settlers had been established there too, by Publius Rupilius, who had instituted similar laws to regulate elections to the Senate and the proportion between the old citizens and the new. There this man not only took his money as he did everywhere else, but also ignored the distinction of the old from the new class, and the proportion between them. LI. You must not expect me to deal with every city in turn; let me observe comprehensively that so long as Verres was praetor no man could become a senator unless he had first paid Verres money.

The same thing may be said of magistracies, 126
directorships, and priesthoods, in dealing with which he trampled down not only the rights of men but all the commandments of the powers above. At Syracuse there is a religious ordinance requiring the annual appointment, by lot, of the priest of Jupiter, whose office is the most important priesthood they have; one candidate is nominated for it, by election, 127
from each of the three divisions of the citizens, and then the lot decides between these. Verres, using his official power to influence the election, succeeded in having his crony Theomnastus returned as one of the three candidates; and people wondered what he would do with the lot, which was not amenable to his

esset. Homo, id quod erat facillimum, primo vetat sortiri, iubet extra sortem Theomnastum renuntiari. Negant id Syracusani per religiones sacrorum ullo modo fieri posse; fas denique negant esse. Iubet iste sibi legem recitari. Recitatur: in qua scriptum erat, ut, quot essent renuntiati, tot in hydriam sortes conicerentur; cuium nomen exisset, ut is haberet id sacerdotium. Iste homo ingeniosus et peracutus "Optime" inquit, "nempe, scriptum ita est, *quot renuntiati erunt.* Quot ergo" inquit "sunt renuntiati?" Respondent "Tres." "Numquid igitur oportet nisi tres sortes conici, unam educi?" "Nihil." Conici iubet tres in quibus omnibus scriptum esset nomen Theomnasti. Fit clamor maximus, cum id universis indignum ac nefarium videretur. Ita Iovis illud sacerdotium amplissimum per hanc rationem Theomnasto datur.

128 LII. Cephaloedi mensis est certus, quo mense sacerdotem maximum creari oporteat. Erat eius honoris cupidus Artemo quidam, Climachias cognomine, homo sane locuples et domi nobilis; sed is fieri nullo modo poterat si Herodotus quidam adesset; ei locus ille atque honos in illum annum ita deberi putabatur ut ne Climachias quidem contra diceret. Res ad istum defertur, et istius more deciditur—toreumata sane nota ac pretiosa auferuntur. Hero-

orders. The man first tried the simple plan of forbidding the lot, ordering Theomnastus to be returned as appointed without it. The Syracusans replied that this could not possibly be done without invalidating the sacred rites; that it would, in fact, be an act of sin. He told them to read him the text of the law; they did so. One clause directed the placing in an urn of as many lots as there were candidates nominated; the man whose name came out of the urn was to hold the priesthood. "Very good," observed the highly acute and ingenious Verres, "the expression is *So many candidates as shall be nominated*; quite so; well, how many *have* been nominated?" "Three," was the reply. "Then nothing is required except to put three lots in and draw one out?" "Nothing." He thereupon ordered three lots to be put in, each one inscribed with the name of Theomnastus; whereupon there was a great cry of indignation at what everyone held a shameful piece of wickedness. And that is the way in which the most high-priesthood of Jupiter was conferred upon Theomnastus.

LII. At Cephaloedium there is a fixed month in 128
which the office of high-priest has to be filled. This position was coveted by one Artemo, surnamed Climachias, who was admittedly a man of wealth and of high rank in his own town; however, his appointment was out of the question if a certain Herodotus appeared as candidate, a man whose claims to this position of authority for the coming year were so strongly supported that Climachias himself could not oppose them. The matter was reported to Verres and settled in his customary fashion—there was a transfer of some quite famous and valuable chased silver work. Herodotus, who

dotus Romae erat; satis putabat se ad comitia tempore venturum si pridie venisset. Iste, ne aut alio mense ac fas erat comitia haberentur aut Herodoto praesenti honos adimeretur (id quod iste non laborabat, Climachias minime volebat), excogitat—dixi iamdudum, non est homo acutior quisquam, nec fuit—excogitat, inquam, quem ad modum mense illo legitimo comitia haberentur nec tamen Herodotus
129 adesse posset. Est consuetudo Siculorum ceterorumque Graecorum, quod suos dies mensesque congruere volunt cum solis lunaeque ratione, ut non numquam, si quid discrepet, eximant unum aliquem diem, aut summum biduum, ex mense, quos illi exaeresimos dies nominant; item non numquam uno die longiorem mensem faciunt aut biduo. Quae cum iste cognosset novus astrologus, qui non tam caeli rationem quam caelati argenti duceret, eximi iubet non diem ex mense, sed ex anno unum dimidiatumque mensem, hoc modo ut, quo die verbi causa esse oporteret Idus Ianuarias, eo die Kalendas Martias proscriberet; itaque fit, omnibus recusantibus et plorantibus. Dies is erat legitimus comitiis habendis; eo modo sacerdos Climachias renuntiatus
130 est. Herodotus cum Roma revertitur, diebus, ut ipse putabat, quindecim ante comitia, offendit eum mensem qui consequitur mensem comitialem, comitiis iam abhinc triginta diebus habitis. Tunc Cephaloeditani fecerunt intercalarium XLV.[1] dies longum,

[1] XXXV *the MSS.*: *but 45 days are actually needed.*

[a] *Novus* may mean that he was a recent recruit to the study, or that his methods were novel, or perhaps both.

was at Rome, took it that the day before the election would be time enough for him to arrive. But Verres, to avoid both holding the election in an unlawful month and having Herodotus there when his office was taken from him (not that the latter point troubled Verres, but Climachias was much against it), devised a plan—there is, I said some time ago, no sharper man alive, nor ever was—a plan for holding the election in the lawful month and yet
not having Herodotus there. It is the custom of the 129
Sicilian as of all other Greeks, as they like to secure the agreement of their days of the month with the motions of the sun and moon, to correct an occasional discrepancy by shortening a month by some one day, or two days at most, days which they term "eliminated"; also they sometimes lengthen a month by one day, or by two days. When this was discovered by our new[a] student of astronomy, who was thinking more of the silver plate than of the silver moon, he gave orders, not for shortening the month by a day, but for shortening the year by a month and a half, so that (for instance) the day which ought to be reckoned as the 13th of January would by his orders be publicly announced to be the 1st of March; and this, to the discontentment and dismay of everyone, was what happened. The 1st of March was the lawful day for the election, and so it came about that Climachias was duly returned
as high-priest elect. Herodotus on his return from 130
Rome, fifteen days, as he imagined, before the election, found himself in the month following the election month, and the election over for a month already. The people of Cephaloedium subsequently introduced a supplementary month of forty-five days,

ut reliqui menses in suam rationem reverterentur. Hoc si Romae fieri posset, certe aliqua ratione expugnasset iste ut dies xxxv. inter binos ludos tollerentur, per quos solos iudicium fieri posset.

131 LIII. Iam vero censores quem ad modum isto praetore in Sicilia creati sint operae pretium est cognoscere. Ille enim est magistratus apud Siculos qui diligentissime mandatur a populo propter hanc causam, quod omnes Siculi ex censu quotannis tributa conferunt, in censu habendo potestas omnis aestimationis habendae summaeque faciendae censori permittitur. Itaque et populus cui maxime fidem suarum rerum habeat maxima cura deligit, et propter magnitudinem potestatis hic magistratus a
132 populo summa ambitione contenditur. In ea re iste nihil obscure facere voluit, non in sortitione fallere, neque dies de fastis eximere. Nihil sane vafre nec malitiose facere conatus est, sed, ut studia cupiditatesque honorum atque ambitiones ex omnibus civitatibus tolleret, quae res evertendae rei publicae solent esse, ostendit sese in omnibus civitatibus
133 censores esse facturum. Tanto mercatu praetoris indicto, concurritur undique ad istum Syracusas; flagrabat domus tota praetoria studio hominum et cupiditate: nec mirum, omnibus comitiis tot civitatum unam in domum revocatis, tantaque ambitione

[a] The Roman games, ending September 18, and the Games of Sulla's victory, beginning October 26. As September had twenty-nine days, the free period seems to consist of thirty-six days, not thirty-five. See *Actio prima*, § 31. Perhaps we should read *xxxvi* for *xxxv*.

so that the remaining months might fall at the right time as before. Had this been possible at Rome, Verres would certainly have somehow pushed through the removal of the thirty-five days, between the two festival periods,[a] in which alone his trial could take place.

LIII. And now it is worth our while to observe 131
how censors were appointed in Sicily during his praetorship. For the censorship is, of all offices, the one which in Sicily the citizens take most care to entrust to the right man, because all Sicilians pay their annual tribute in proportion to their assessed wealth, and in making the assessment the censor is entrusted with complete power to value each property and fix the amount due. Consequently the community exercises the greatest care in selecting the person who is to be trusted so largely with its property, and on the other hand the competition for the office is especially keen in the community because of the great power conferred by it. Verres 132
decided that his dealings with this matter should be quite open; he would resort to no dishonest drawing of lots or cutting days out of the calendar. He certainly tried to do nothing underhand or fraudulent here; with the purpose of banishing from all his cities those eager and covetous desires for office that are the ruin of so many states, he announced that he would himself appoint the censors in every city. Upon the praetor's declaring his 133
great market open, there was a general rush to see him at Syracuse; his official residence was a seething mass of excited human cupidity; nor was this surprising, when the polling-stations of all those cities were concentrated in a single house, and the

provinciae totius in uno cubiculo inclusa. Exquisitis palam pretiis et licitationibus factis, discribebat censores binos in singulas civitates Timarchides. Is suo labore suisque accessionibus, huius negotii atque operis molestia, consequebatur ut ad istum sine ulla sollicitudine summa pecuniae referretur. Iam hic Timarchides quantum pecuniam fecerit plane adhuc cognoscere non potuistis; verum tamen priore actione quam varie, quam improbe praedatus esset multorum testimoniis cognovistis.

134 LIV. Sed ne miremini qua ratione hic tantum apud istum libertus potuerit, exponam vobis breviter quid hominis sit, ut et istius nequitiam qui illum secum habuerit, eo praesertim numero ac loco, et calamitatem provinciae cognoscatis. In mulierum corruptelis, et in omni eius modi luxuria atque nequitia, mirandum in modum reperiebam hunc Timarchidem ad istius flagitiosas libidines singularemque nequitiam natum atque aptum fuisse, investigare, adire, appellare, corrumpere, quidvis facere in eius modi rebus quamvis callide, quamvis audacter, quamvis impudenter; eundem mira quaedam excogitasse genera furandi; nam ipsum Verrem tantum avaritia semper hiante atque imminente fuisse, ingenio et cogitatione nulla, ut quicquid sua sponte faciebat, item ut vos Romae cognovistis, eripere potius quam fallere vide-
135 retur. Haec vero huius erat ars et malitia miranda,

fierce ambitions of an entire province shut up in a single room. Prices were openly ascertained and offers openly made, after which the two censors for each state were assigned by Timarchides. This person, by doing the work and interviewing the candidates himself, and bearing the unpleasantness of so laborious a piece of business, achieved the conveyance of all the profits to Verres without troubling him at all. How large the profits made by this man Timarchides were you have not so far had the opportunity of learning exactly; but still you did learn, at the first hearing, from the evidence of many witnesses, in how many rascally ways he plundered his victims.

LIV. Now you may wonder how this freedman 134
gained so much control of Verres' affairs; and therefore I will tell you briefly the sort of man he is, that you may appreciate both the iniquity of Verres in giving him a place on his staff, a place, moreover, of high rank and consideration, and also the disastrous consequences for the province. In the seduction of women, and all such licentious wickedness, I learnt that this fellow Timarchides was remarkedly well constituted and adapted to further the evil debauches of this prince of scoundrels, to track out and visit and accost and pervert, and do anything else that such affairs demand, with unlimited cunning, boldness, and effrontery. I learnt, too, his remarkable skill in working out methods of stealing; for Verres had no quality but the greed that hung with ever-open mouth over his prey, no ingenuity or power of thought, so that any theft of his own devising was seen, as you have seen in Rome, to involve more violence than trickery. But this fellow's amazing 135

quod acutissime[1] tota provincia quid cuique accidisset, quid cuique opus esset, indagare et odorari solebat; omnium adversarios, omnium inimicos diligenter cognoscere, colloqui, attemptare; ex utraque parte causas voluntates perspicere, facultates et copias; quibus opus esset metum offerre, quibus expediret spem ostendere; accusatorum et quadruplatorum quicquid erat habebat in potestate; quod cuique negotii conflare volebat nullo labore faciebat; istius omnia decreta, imperia, litteras peritissime et
136 callidissime venditabat. Ac non solum erat administer istius cupiditatum, verum etiam ipse sui meminerat, neque solum nummos si qui isti exciderant tollere solebat, ex quibus pecuniam maximam fecit, sed etiam voluptatum flagitiorumque istius ipse reliquias colligebat. Itaque in Sicilia non Athenionem, qui nullum oppidum cepit, sed Timarchidem fugitivum omnibus oppidis per triennium scitote regnasse, in Timarchidi potestate sociorum populi Romani antiquissimorum atque amicissimorum liberos, matres familias, bona fortunasque omnes fuisse. Is igitur, ut dico, Timarchides in omnes civitates accepto pretio censores dimisit: comitia isto praetore censorum ne simulandi quidem causa fuerunt.

137 LV. Iam hoc impudentissime: palam, licebat enim videlicet legibus, singulis censoribus denarii treceni[2] ad statuam praetoris imperati sunt. Censores cxxx.

[1] accuratissime *Peterson, with good MS. support.*
[2] treceni *is Mueller's emendation, adopted by Peterson, of MSS.* trecenti.

skill and rascality consisted in the clever way in which he would track or smell out the misfortunes and necessities of everyone in the province; take the trouble to find out everyone's opponents and enemies, and talk to them and lure them on; explore the aims and feelings and available resources of both sides; threaten where it was necessary, and encourage where it was desirable. All the professional and mercenary prosecutors were in his power; when he wanted to work up trouble for anyone, he did it with perfect ease; decrees, orders, written authorities from Verres he would place on the market with the most accomplished skill. Nor 136
did he merely help to satisfy the greed of his master; he bore himself in mind too; and it was not only that he used to pick up any coins that Verres might have let drop, and thus made a large sum of money for himself; he used also to collect the leavings of Verres' licentious pleasures. You must know, therefore, that for these three years it was not Athenio, who never captured a town, but Timarchides who was the real slave king over all the towns of Sicily; that the wives and the children, the goods and the money of Rome's oldest and closest allies were at the mercy of Timarchides. Well, it was this Timarchides who, as I have said, received the bribes and distributed censors to the various cities: so long as Verres was praetor there was not even a pretence made of appointing censors by election.

LV. Then here is a piece of impudence. Orders 137
were given openly—for the act, we must not doubt, was legal—that each of the censors should contribute £12 towards a statue of their praetor. One hundred and thirty censors were appointed; they

facti sunt; pecuniam illam ob censuram contra leges clam dederunt; haec denarium XXXIX. milia palam salvis legibus contulerunt in statuam. Primum, quo tantam pecuniam? Deinde, quam ob rem censores ad statuam tibi conferebant? Ordo aliqui censorum est, collegium, genus aliquod hominum? Nam aut publice civitates istos honores habent, aut, si homines,[1] ut aratores, ut mercatores, ut navicularii: censores quidem qui magis quam aediles? Ob beneficium? Ergo hoc fatebere, abs te haec petita esse (nam empta non audebis dicere)? te eos magistratus hominibus beneficii, non rei publicae causa permisisse? Hoc cum tute fateare, quisquam dubitabit quin tu istam apud populos provinciae totius invidiam atque offensionem non ambitionis neque beneficiorum collocandorum, sed pecuniae conciliandae causa susceperis?

138 Itaque illi censores fecerunt idem quod in nostra re publica solent ii qui per largitionem magistratus adepti sunt: dederunt operam ut ita potestatem gererent ut illam lacunam rei familiaris explerent. Sic census habitus est te praetore ut eo censu nullius civitatis res publica posset administrari; nam locupletissimi cuiusque censum extenuarant, tenuissimi auxerant. Itaque in tributis imperandis tantum oneris plebi imponebatur ut, etiamsi homines tacerent, res ipsa illum censum repudiaret; id quod

[1] *This is Peterson's emendation of* aut si generatim homines.

made those other secret and illegal payments to secure their appointment, and these open and not illegal subscriptions towards the statue amounted to £1560. Why so much money, in the first place? And in the next place, why should your statue be subscribed for by censors? Do the censors in any way constitute an order, a corporate body, a definite class of persons? Honours of this kind are either officially conferred by communities, or else, if by individuals, by definite classes of individuals, such as farmers, or merchants, or shipowners; but why by censors, any more than by aediles? In return for favours received? I see; then will you confess that these posts were begged from you —"bought" is more than you will dare to admit—that you conferred them on people as favours, instead of in the public interest? When you yourself confess to as much as that, can there be any question that you accepted the hatred and resentment of the whole population of the province, not to gain popularity or bestow judicious favours, but to make money?

Naturally, the behaviour of these censors was like 138
that of those members of our own government who have acquired their offices by bribery; they took care to discharge their functions so as to fill up the hole made in their finances. The assessment made during your praetorship was made in a way that brought the financial administration in every city to a standstill. For all the wealthiest men had their assessments reduced, while the poorest had theirs increased; and the demands of the tribute imposed in consequence such a burden upon the humbler classes that even if no one had said anything the facts of the case would have exposed the conduct of this assessment, as we need only glance at

intellegi facillime re ipsa potest. LVI. Nam L. Metellus, qui, posteaquam ego inquirendi causa in Siciliam veni, repente Laetilii adventu istius non modo amicus verum etiam cognatus factus est—is, quod videbat istius censu stari nullo modo posse, eum censum observari iussit qui viro fortissimo atque innocentissimo Sex. Peducaeo praetore habitus esset. Erant enim tum censores legibus facti, delecti a suis civitatibus; quibus, si quid commisissent, poenae
139 legibus erant constitutae. Te autem praetore, quis censor aut legem metueret, qua non tenebatur, quoniam creatus lege non erat, aut animadversionem tuam, cum id quod abs te emerat vendidisset? Teneat iam sane meos testes Metellus, cogat alios laudare, sicut in multis conatus est; modo haec faciat quae facit. Quis enim umquam tanta a quoquam contumelia, quis tanta ignominia affectus est? Quinto quoque anno Sicilia tota censetur; erat censa praetore Peducaeo; quintus annus cum in te praetorem incidisset, censa denuo est; postero anno L. Metellus mentionem tui census fieri vetat, censores dicit de integro sibi creari placere, interea Peducaeanum censum observari iubet. Hoc si tuus inimicus tibi fecisset, tamen, si animo aequo provincia tulisset, inimici iudicium grave videretur. Fecit amicus recens et cognatus voluntarius; aliter enim,

the facts to see at once. LVI. For Lucius Metellus, the very man whom, after I had come to Sicily to collect evidence, the arrival of Lucius Laetilius turned suddenly into the friend and even the cousin of Verres—Metellus, I say, finding it wholly out of the question to adhere to Verres' assessment, ordered the employment of the assessment made in the praetorship of the gallant and incorruptible Sextus Peducaeus. Yes, for then the censors were chosen legally, elected by their own cities, and subject, if they misconducted themselves, to penalties
fixed by law. But under you, what censor need 139
be afraid either of the law, by which, not having been lawfully appointed, he was not bound, or of being punished by you for selling to others what you had sold to him? Now let Metellus detain my witnesses, by all means; let him force others to eulogize the accused, as in many cases he has tried to do; I will only ask him to do what he is doing. For did ever one man inflict upon another such an insult, such a humiliation as this? Every four years the whole of Sicily is assessed; it was assessed when Peducaeus was praetor; the fourth year following found you praetor, and it was assessed again; and the year after that Metellus forbids any reference to your assessment, tells us that he has decided to have an entirely fresh appointment of censors, and meanwhile orders the use of the assessment made by Peducaeus. Had this been done by your personal enemy, even so, if the province were satisfied, your enemy's verdict upon you would have been a serious matter. It was done in fact by your new friend, your volunteer cousin; it was done because he could not do other-

si provinciam retinere, si salvus ipse in provincia
140 vellet esse, facere non potuit. LVII. Exspectas etiam quid hi iudicent? Si tibi magistratum abrogasset, minore ignominia te affecisset quam cum ea quae magistratu gessisti sustulit atque irrita iussit esse. Neque in hac re sola fuit eius modi, sed, antequam ego in Siciliam veni, in maximis rebus ac plurimis. Nam et Heraclio Syracusanos tuos illos palaestritas bona restituere iussit, et Epicrati Bidinos, et pupillo Drepanitano A. Claudium; et, nisi mature Laetilius in Siciliam cum litteris venisset, minus xxx. diebus Metellus totam triennii praeturam tuam rescidisset.

141 Et quoniam de ea pecunia quam tibi ad statuam censores contulerunt dixi, non mihi praetermittendum videtur ne illud quidem genus pecuniae conciliatae quam tu a civitatibus statuarum nomine coegisti. Video enim eius pecuniae summam esse pergrandem, ad HS viciens; tantum conficietur ex testimoniis et litteris civitatum. Et iste hoc concedit nec potest aliter dicere: quare cuius modi putamus esse illa quae negat, cum haec tam improba sint quae fatetur? Quid enim vis constitui? consumptam esse omnem istam pecuniam in statuis? Fac ita esse: tamen hoc ferendum nullo modo est, tantam a sociis pecuniam auferri ut omnibus in angiportis praedonis improbissimi statua ponatur, qua vix tuto transiri posse

wise, if he meant to remain governor of Sicily or even to live there in safety. LVII. After this, need 140
you wait to hear the verdict of this court? Had Metellus deprived you of your office, he would have inflicted a lesser disgrace upon you than by thus cancelling your official proceedings and declaring them null and void. Nor was this the only matter in which he acted thus; he had done the like before I reached Sicily, in other matters of high importance. He had ordered those curators of yours at Syracuse to make restitution to Heraclius, and those at Bidis to Epicrates, and Aulus Claudius to his ward at Drepanum; and if Laetilius had not been so quick in reaching Sicily with that letter, Metellus would have nullified the whole of your three years of office in less than a month.

Having referred to the money subscribed by the 141
censors for your statue, I think I should also say something of the method of making money whereby you extracted it, ostensibly for providing statues, from the various cities. The total amount is, I observe, very large, not less than £20,000; the personal and written evidence supplied by the cities will show it to come to fully as much as that. Verres indeed admits so much, nor can he help admitting it; and when the offences he does not deny are so serious, what are we to think of the offences he does deny? Why, to what conclusion would you have us come? That all this money was spent on statues? Suppose that true: it remains quite intolerable that our allies should be robbed of enough money to set up a statue of this buccaneering ruffian in every alley-way, in places where, one would think, it was hardly

142 videatur. LVIII. Verum ubi tandem aut in quibus statuis ista tanta pecunia consumpta est? Consumetur, inquies. Scilicet exspectemus legitimum illud quinquennium; si hoc intervallo non consumpserit, tum denique nomen eius de pecuniis repetundis statuarum nomine deferemus. Reus est maximis plurimisque criminibus in iudicium vocatus, HS viciens ex hoc uno genere captum videmus: si condemnatus eris, non, opinor, id ages ut ista pecunia in quinquennio consumatur in statuis; sin absolutus eris, quis erit tam amens qui te ex tot tantisque criminibus elapsum post quinquennium statuarum nomine arcessat? Ita si neque adhuc consumpta est ista pecunia et est perspicuum non consumptum iri, licet iam intellegamus inventam esse rationem quare et iste HS viciens ex hoc uno genere conciliarit et ceperit, et ceteri, si hoc a vobis erit comprobatum, quam volent magnas hoc nomine pecunias capere possint; ut iam videamur non a pecuniis capiendis homines absterrere, sed, cum genera quaedam pecuniarum capiendarum comprobarimus, honesta nomina turpissimis rebus im-
143 ponere. Etenim si C Verres HS c. milia populum, verbi gratia Centuripinum, poposcisset, eamque ab iis pecuniam abstulisset, non, opinor, esset dubium quin eum, cum id planum fieret, condemnari necesse esset. Quid? si eundem populum HS cc. milia poposcit, eaque coegit atque abstulit, num idcirco absolvetur, quod ascriptum est eam pecuniam datam

safe to go. LVIII. But where, on what statues, 142
has all that money of yours in fact been spent? It *will* be so spent, you will answer. We are to wait, I take it, for the five legal years of grace to elapse; and if he has not so spent it meanwhile, then will come our time to prosecute him for extortion in connexion with these statues! He stands here charged now with a great number of serious offences; and we find that, under this one head, he has laid hold of twenty thousand pounds. If you are found guilty, it will not, I imagine, be your object to have this money spent on statues within the next five years; and if you are acquitted, no one will be such a fool, after your escape from all these grave charges, as to arraign you five years later for your behaviour about the statues. So, if the money has not yet been spent, and if it is also obvious that it is not going to be spent, we can now see that a method has been discovered whereby Verres, in this one department, collected and stole £20,000, and whereby all other governors, if this one's conduct receives your sanction, will be able to steal as large sums as they choose on the same pretext; so that we shall palpably not be deterring people from stealing, but, by our sanction of stealing of particular kinds, applying respectable names to villainous actions. For surely, if Verres 143
had simply demanded the sum of a thousand pounds from, shall we say, the people of Centuripa, and taken that sum away from them, there could really be no doubt that the proof of this fact must lead to his conviction. Well then, now that he has, from those very people, demanded, extracted, and taken away two thousand pounds, he will surely not be acquitted simply because a note has been added

statuarum nomine? Non, opinor; nisi forte id agimus, non ut magistratibus nostris moram accipiendi, sed ut sociis causam dandi afferre videamur.

Quod si quem statuae magno opere delectant, et si quis earum honore et gloria ducitur, is haec tamen constituat necesse est: primum, averti pecuniam domum non placere; deinde, ipsarum statuarum modum quendam esse oportere; deinde illud, certe
144 ab invitis exigi non oportere. LIX. Ac de avertenda pecunia quaero abs te utrum ipsae civitates solitae sint statuas tibi faciendas locare ei cui possent optima conditione locare, an aliquem procuratorem praeficere qui statuis faciendis praeesset, an tibi, an cui tu imperasses, adnumerare pecuniam. Nam si per eos statuae fiebant a quibus tibi iste honos habebatur, audio; sin Timarchidi pecunia numerabatur, desine, quaeso, simulare te, cum in manifestissimo furto teneare, gloriae studiosum ac monumentorum fuisse.

Quid vero? modum statuarum haberi nullum placet?
145 Atqui habeatur necesse est. Etenim sic considerate. Syracusana civitas, ut eam potissimum nominem, dedit ipsi statuam—est honos; et patri—bella haec pietatis et quaestuosa simulatio; et filio—ferri hoc potest, hunc enim puerum non oderant. Verum quotiens et quot nominibus a Syracusanis statuas auferes? Ut in foro statuerent abstulisti, ut in curia,

that this money was paid for statues? No, I think not; unless, of course, our object is not to discourage our officials from taking such payments but to encourage our allies to make them.

Now a man may take great pleasure in these statues, and be attracted by the honour and glory they confer; but for all that there are certain facts that he must accept. The money for them must not be applied to his private ends; the number of actual statues must not exceed a certain limit; and certainly they must not be exacted from unwilling
donors. LIX. On the first point, I should like to 144
ask you whether the cities themselves usually either let the contracts for making the statues to the contractor who in each case made the most satisfactory tender, or appointed some agent to superintend their making; or whether they paid the money in cash to you or to some person at your orders. For if the making of the statues was carried out by the persons who paid you that honour, well and good; but if the fact is that the money for them was paid in cash to Timarchides, kindly drop this pretence of a thirst for monumental fame, now that you stand plainly convicted of being a thief.

And then again, can an unlimited number of statues
be approved? Why, it cannot possibly. Look at 145
the matter thus. The city of Syracuse, if I may select it for mention, gave a statue of himself—that was in honour of him; one of his father—that was a pretty, and remunerative, pretence that he was a good son; and one of his son—that may be tolerated, for they had no aversion to the boy. But how often, and on how many pretexts, do you mean to get statues out of the Syracusans? You got one out of

coegisti ; ut pecuniam conferrent in eas statuas quae Romae ponerentur imperasti : ut idem darent homines aratorum nomine—dederunt ; ut idem pro parte in commune Siciliae conferrent—etiam id contulerunt. Una civitas cum tot nominibus pecuniam contulerit, idemque hoc civitates ceterae fecerint, nonne res ipsa vos admonet ut putetis modum aliquem huic cupiditati constitui oportere ? Quid ? si hoc voluntate sua nulla civitas fecit, si omnes imperio, metu, vi, malo adductae tibi pecuniam statuarum nomine contulerunt, per deos immortales, num cui dubium esse poterit quin, etiamsi statuerit accipere ad statuas licere, idem tamen statuat eripere certe non licere ?
146 Primum igitur in hanc rem testem totam Siciliam citabo, quae mihi una voce statuarum nomine magnam pecuniam per vim coactam esse demonstrat. Nam legationes omnium civitatum in postulatis communibus, quae fere omnia ex tuis iniuriis nata sunt, etiam hoc ediderunt, UT STATUAS NE CUI, NISI CUM IS DE PROVINCIA DECESSISSET, POLLICERENTUR. LX. Tot praetores in Sicilia fuerunt, totiens apud maiores nostros Siculi senatum adierunt, totiens hac memoria : tamen huiusce novi postulati genus atque principium
147 tua praetura attulit. Quid enim tam novum non solum re sed genere ipso postulandi ? Nam cetera

them to be erected in their market-place, you extorted another for their senate-house, you ordered a subscription for those to be set up in Rome ; the same persons were to pay as corn-farmers—they paid ; the same again, as sharing in the contribution from Sicily as a whole—and they subscribed again. When you find, gentlemen, that one city has subscribed under all these headings, and that all the other cities have done the same, does not this simple fact urge you to recognize the need for some limit to be imposed on this passion for fame ? But if it is further true that no city has done this of its own free will, that they all subscribed, nominally for your statues, under the pressure of command, intimidation, violence and ill-treatment—then, God help us, it should surely be plain enough to any man that, even if he has made up his mind that it is permissible to accept money for statues, he must also make up his mind that it is certainly not permissible to take that money by force.
Well, in the first place, I will call the whole of Sicily 146
as a witness to this fact ; her united voice proves the forcible collection of a great sum of money for the nominal purpose of these statues. The embassies of all her cities, in that general petition nearly all of whose clauses have their origin in your acts of tyranny, have included the clause, "That they should not promise statues to any official unless and until he has left his province." LX. How many praetors have governed Sicily ! How often the Sicilians have approached the Senate, in our fathers' times and within our own memory ! And yet it is *your* praetorship that is the source and origin of this novel petition.
The novelty is remarkable in the mere form of the 147
petition as well as in its substance. For the other

quae sunt in isdem postulatis de iniuriis tuis sunt nova, sed tamen non novo modo postulantur. Rogant et orant Siculi patres conscriptos ut nostri magistratus posthac decumas lege Hieronica vendant. Tu primus contra vendideras: audio. Ne in cellam quod imperatur aestiment: hoc quoque propter tuos ternos denarios nunc primum postulatur, sed genus ipsum postulandi non est novum. Ne absentis nomen recipiatur: ex Sthenii calamitate et tua natum est iniuria. Cetera non colligam. Sunt omnia Siculorum postulata eius modi ut crimina collecta in unum te reum esse videantur; quae tamen omnia novas iniurias habent, sed postulationum formulas usitatas: hoc postulatum de statuis ridiculum esse videatur ei
148 qui rem sententiamque non perspiciat. Postulant enim, non uti ne cogantur statuere. Quid igitur? ut ipsis ne liceat. Quid est hoc? Petis a me, quod in tua potestate est, ut id tibi facere ne liceat: pete potius ne quis te invitum polliceri aut facere cogat. "Nihil egero" inquit; "negabunt enim omnes se coegisse; si me salvum esse vis, mihi impone istam vim ut omnino mihi ne liceat polliceri. Ex tua praetura primum haec est nata postulatio; qua cum utuntur, hoc significant atque adeo aperte ostendunt,

[a] See *Divinatio*, § 30, and the full handling of the subject in Book III. §§ 195-220.

requests in the petition, referring to the wrongs you did, are new themselves, but there is nothing new in the way in which they are put. Thus the Sicilians humbly entreat your honourable House that our governors shall in future sell the rights of collecting tithe as is provided by the law of Hiero. You were the first to do otherwise—well, let us pass on. They ask that governors shall not require fixed money payments instead of supplies demanded for their households. Here too is a request made now for the first time, due to your 3-denarius exaction[a]; however, there is nothing strange in the actual form of the request. They ask that no prosecution of absent persons be allowed; this arises from the ruin of Sthenius and the wrong done him by you. I will not deal with the other points. All the petitions of these Sicilians are such as to look like a collection of charges directed against you and you only. But though they refer to novel kinds of oppression, the form of their wording is familiar; whereas this petition regarding statues must seem absurd to anyone who does not
perceive its real meaning. For they ask not that no 148
one else should oblige them to erect the statues, but that they should not be allowed to do so of themselves. What can this mean? You are asking me not to allow you to do a thing which it is in your power to do or not do; ask me rather that no one shall compel you to promise or do it against your will. "That is of no use to me" is the reply, "for they will all say they did not compel me; if you would save me, apply compulsion to me, so that I am simply not allowed to make the promise." You, Verres, are the praetor whose rule has given rise to this petition, in making which they imply, nay, they declare openly,

sese ad statuas tuas pecuniam, metu ac malo coactos, invitissimos contulisse.

149 Quid? si hoc non dicant, tibi non necesse sit ipsi id confiteri? Vide et perspice qua defensione sis usurus; nam intelleges hoc tibi de statuis confitendum esse. LXI. Mihi enim renuntiatur ita constitui a tuis patronis, hominibus ingeniosis, causam tuam, et ita eos abs te institui et doceri: ut quisque ex provincia Sicilia gravior homo atque honestior testimonium vehementius dixerit, sicuti multi primarii viri multa dixerunt, te statim hoc istis tuis defensoribus dicere, "Inimicus est propterea quod arator est." Itaque uno genere, opinor, circumscribere habetis in animo genus hoc aratorum, quod eos infenso animo atque inimico venisse dicatis quia fuerit in decumis iste vehementior. Ergo aratores inimici omnes et adversarii sunt? nemo eorum est, quin perisse te cupiat? Omnino praeclare te habes cum is ordo atque id hominum genus quod optimum atque honestissimum est, a quo uno et summa rei publicae et illa provincia maxime contine-
150 tur, tibi est inimicissimum? Verum esto; alio loco de aratorum animo et iniuriis videro; nunc, quod mihi abs te datur, id accipio, eos tibi esse inimicissimos. Nempe ita dicis, propter decumas. Concedo: non quaero iure an iniuria sint inimici. Quid ergo? illae quid sibi statuae equestres inauratae volunt, quae populi Romani oculos animosque maxime offendunt, propter aedem Volcani? Nam inscriptum esse video

[a] Cicero here addresses Verres' *patroni*.

that they subscribed for your statues quite against their will, under the stress of fear and ill-treatment.

Why, if they did not say so, would you not have to confess to it yourself? Look carefully at your intended line of defence, and you will see at once that you have to make this confession about the statues. LXI. I am informed that your case is being prepared by your able advocates, that they are being primed and instructed by you, on the following lines. Whenever any notably impressive and respectable witness from Sicily has given his evidence with unusual heat, as a number of important persons have to a large extent done, you promptly say to your counsel, "He hates me because he is a farmer."—I gather, then, that you gentlemen [a] mean to class all the members of this farmer class together, declaring that they have come here full of spite and hostility because Verres was especially forcible in handling the corn-tithes. Well then, the farmers are all your enemies and opponents, are they? They all desire your ruin, do they? All is well, you think, when the best and most respectable division of the human race, the class by which, more than by any other, both the empire as a whole and that particular province are held together, is your mortal enemy? But let that pass; I will 150
deal elsewhere with the farmers' feelings and the farmers' wrongs; for the present, I accept your admission that they are your mortal enemies. Naturally, you say, because of the tithes. Yes, yes, very well: I do not ask whether you deserve their enmity or not. Now then, what is the meaning of those gilt equestrian statues near the temple of Vulcan that are so particularly offensive to the eyes and feelings of Rome? I observe that an inscription

quandam ex his statuis aratores dedisse. Si honoris causa statuam dederunt, inimici non sunt; credamus testibus; tum enim honori tuo, nunc iam religioni suae consulunt. Sin autem metu coacti dederunt, confiteare necesse est te in provincia pecunias statuarum nomine per vim ac metum coegisse. Utrum tibi commodum est elige.

151 LXII. Equidem libenter hoc iam crimen de statuis relinquam, ut mihi tu illud concedas quod tibi honestissimum est, aratores tibi ad statuam honoris tui causa voluntate sua contulisse. Da mihi hoc, iam tibi maximam partem defensionis praecideris; non enim poteris aratores tibi iratos esse atque inimicos dicere. O causam singularem! o defensionem miseram ac perditam! nolle hoc accipere reum ab accusatore, et eum reum qui praetor in Sicilia fuerit, aratores ei statuam sua voluntate statuisse, aratores de eo bene existimare, amicos esse, salvum cupere! Metuit ne hoc vos existimetis; obruitur enim aratorum testi-
152 moniis. Utar eo quod datur. Certe hoc vobis ita iudicandum est, eos, qui isti inimicissimi sunt, ut ipse existimari vult, ad istius honores atque monumenta pecuniam voluntate sua non contulisse. Atque ut hoc totum facillime intellegi possit, quem voles eorum testium quos produxero, qui ex Sicilia testes sunt,

states that one of these statues was presented by the farmers. If they gave this statue to do you honour, they are not your enemies; let us, then, believe their evidence; they were thinking of your honour then, they are thinking of their consciences now. If, on the other hand, they were frightened into giving it, you have to admit that you, as governor, extorted the money, nominally for statues, by violence and intimidation. Choose the alternative that suits you!

LXII. I should be glad, for my part, to drop this 151
charge about the statues at this point, if you would only grant me what would be most to your credit, that the farmers subscribed for the statue of their own accord to do you honour. Allow me this and instantly you have cut away the main prop of your defence, being then unable to allege that the farmers are angry and hostile. What an amazing position, what a miserable and hopeless line of defence! That the accused man, after being the governor of Sicily, should have to deny, when his accuser is willing to allow, that the farmers, of all people, have set up a statue to him of their own free will, that the farmers think well of him, feel friendly towards him, and hope for his escape! Your believing this is what he is afraid of; for it is the evidence of the farmers that is
crushing him. I will stress, then, what he does let 152
you believe. You must certainly conclude that the persons who are, as he would have you suppose, his deadly enemies have not subscribed money to honour and commemorate him of their own free will. And to make the whole matter clear without more ado, you, Verres, shall ask any one you please of the witnesses I shall call who come from Sicily, Roman citizen or

sive togatum sive Siculum, rogato, et eum qui tibi inimicissimus esse videbitur, qui se spoliatum abs te dicet, ecquid suo nomine in tuam statuam contulerit: neminem reperies qui neget; etenim
153 omnes dederunt. Quemquam igitur putas dubitaturum quin is quem tibi inimicissimum esse oporteat, qui abs te gravissimas iniurias acceperit, pecuniam statuae nomine dederit vi atque imperio adductus, non officio ac voluntate? Et huius ego pecuniae, iudices, quae permagna est impudentissimeque coacta ab invitis, non habui rationem neque habere potui, quantum ab aratoribus, quantum ab negotiatoribus qui Syracusis, qui Agrigenti, qui Panhormi, qui Lilybaei negotiantur, esset coactum. Eam iam[1] intellegitis ipsius quoque confessione ab invitissimis coactam esse.

154 LXIII. Venio nunc ad civitates Siciliae, de quibus facillime iudicium fieri voluntatis potest. An etiam Siculi inviti contulerunt? Non est probabile. Etenim sic C. Verrem praeturam in Sicilia gessisse constat ut, cum utrisque satis facere non posset, et Siculis et togatis, officii potius in socios quam ambitionis in cives rationem duxerit. Itaque eum non solum PATRONUM istius insulae sed etiam SOTERA inscriptum vidi Syracusis. Hoc quantum est? Ita magnum ut Latine uno verbo exprimi non possit. Is est nimirum SOTER

[1] eam iam *Peterson for MS.* quoniam *or* ut iam: *other proposals are* et iam (*poor sense*) *and* quam iam.

Sicilian—yes, even the man you shall regard as your deadliest enemy, the man who shall declare that you robbed him—whether he personally subscribed for your statue; and you will find nobody who says No, for every one of them did subscribe. Then will anyone 153
doubt, do you think, that a man who is bound to be your deadly enemy, who has sustained the heaviest wrongs at your hands, paid the money supposed to be for your statue because he was ordered and forced to pay it, and not because he wished to pay it or felt he ought to pay it? The amount of this money, gentlemen, of this vast sum that has been so brazenly extorted from unwilling givers, I have neither calculated nor been able to calculate—how much was extorted from the farmers, and how much from the business men carrying on business at Syracuse and Agrigentum, at Panhormus and Lilybaeum. What you do know by now, from his own confession as well as otherwise, is that it was extorted from persons who were entirely unwilling to pay it.

LXIII. Let us now consider the Sicilian cities, the 154
test of whose willingness may be applied very easily. Or—were even the Sicilians unwilling to subscribe? We can hardly believe that! It is surely well understood that Gaius Verres, governor of Sicily, finding it impossible to satisfy both parties, both Sicilians and Romans, let his actions be directed rather by his sense of duty towards our allies than by his desire for the goodwill of our own citizens. That is why an inscription which I have seen in Syracuse describes him as not merely the island's advocate but also as its *Soter*. And what does this word mean? It means so much that it cannot be rendered by any single Latin word; *Soter* in fact

qui salutem dedit. Huius nomine etiam dies festi agitantur, pulchra illa Verria, non quasi Marcellia, sed pro Marcelliis, quae illi istius iussu sustulerunt. Huius fornix in foro Syracusis est, in quo nudus filius stat, ipse autem ex equo nudatam ab se provinciam prospicit. Huius statuae locis omnibus, quae hoc demonstrare videantur, prope modum non minus multas statuas istum posuisse Syracusis quam abstulisse. Huic etiam Romae videmus in basi statuarum maximis litteris incisum A COMMUNI
155 SICILIAE DATAS. Quam ob rem qui hoc probare potes cuiquam, tantos honores habitos esse ab invitis? LXIV. Hic tibi etiam multo magis quam paulo ante in aratoribus videndum et considerandum est quid velis. Magna res est utrum tibi Siculos publice privatimque amicos an inimicos existimari velis. Si inimicos, quid te futurum est? quo confugies? ubi nitere? Modo aratorum, honestissimorum hominum ac locupletissimorum, et Siculorum et civium Romanorum, maximum numerum abs te abalienasti: nunc de Siculis civitatibus quid ages? Dices tibi Siculos esse amicos? qui poteris? qui, quod nullo in homine antea fecerant, ut in eum publice testimonium dicerent, cum praesertim ex ea provincia condemnati sint complures qui ibi praetores fuerunt, duo soli absoluti, hi nunc veniunt cum litteris, veniunt cum mandatis, veniunt cum testimoniis publicis. Qui, si te publice laudarent, tamen id more potius suo quam

signifies "the Giver of Deliverance." He is, moreover, commemorated by the celebration of a festival, that noble Festival of Verres, which does not copy but takes the place of the Festival of the Marcelli, abolished by them at his command. In the market-place at Syracuse rises his arch of honour, above which stands the naked figure of his son, and he himself on horseback surveys his province, stripped naked by him. His statues are everywhere, as if to prove that he set up nearly as many statues in Syracuse as he carried away from it. Even in Rome we see him glorified by the inscription, cut in huge letters on the pedestal of his statues, *Presented by the*
united people of Sicily. In the face of all this, how 155
can you make anyone believe that people have honoured you thus highly against their will? LXIV. And here you must consider, as with the farmers just now, but a good deal more carefully still, what line you mean to take. It will matter a great deal whether you choose to have the Sicilians, individually and collectively, regarded as your friends or as your enemies. If as your enemies, what becomes of you? What refuge will you find, what ground to stand on? You have just quarrelled with the farmers, the respectable and wealthy farmers, Sicilian and Roman alike; how will you deal now with the Sicilian cities? Will you declare the Sicilians your friends? And how can you? Never before have they gone so far as to give evidence against anyone officially, in spite of the fact that a number of former governors of the province have been convicted and only two acquitted; yet now here they are, with official letters, official instructions, official evidence. Were they giving you official eulogies, we should think it was

merito tuo facere viderentur, hi, cum de tuis factis publice conqueruntur, nonne hoc indicant, tantas esse iniurias ut multo maluerint de suo more decedere
156 quam de tuis moribus non dicere? Confitendum est igitur tibi necessario Siculos inimicos esse, qui quidem in te gravissima postulata consulibus ediderint, et me ut hanc causam salutisque suae defensionem susciperem obsecrarint; qui cum a praetore prohiberentur, a quattuor quaestoribus impedirentur, omnium minas atque omnia pericula prae salute sua levia duxerint; qui priore actione ita testimonia graviter vehementerque dixerint ut Artemonem Centuripinum legatum et publice testem Q. Hortensius accusatorem, non testem, esse diceret. Etenim ille cum propter virtutem et fidem cum Androne, homine honestissimo et certissimo, tum etiam propter eloquentiam legatus a suis civibus electus est, ut posset multas istius et varias iniurias quam apertissime vobis planissimeque explicare.

LXV. Dixerunt Halaesini, Catinenses, Tyndaritani, Hennenses, Herbitenses, Agyrinenses, Netini, Segestani — enumerare omnes non est necesse. Scitis quam multi et quam multa priore actione
157 dixerint: nunc et illi et reliqui dicent. Omnes denique hoc in hac causa intellegent, hoc animo esse Siculos ut, si in istum animadversum non sit, sibi

more their own practice than your merits that made them do it; and as they are in fact officially denouncing your conduct, are they not showing us that their wrongs are so heavy that they have much preferred abandoning their own practice to being
silent about your practices? You are, therefore, 156
obliged to admit the Sicilians to be your enemies; and in truth they have presented to the consuls a petition that is a strong attack upon you, and have besought me to undertake this case and defend them from destruction; in spite of their praetor's prohibition and the obstacles put in their way by their four quaestors, they have made light of all threats from those persons and all dangers to themselves, if only they may so escape that destruction; and at the first hearing they gave their evidence with such impressive vehemence that Hortensius accused Artemo, the deputy and official witness from Centuripa, of being not a witness but a prosecutor. It is indeed true that Artemo was chosen deputy by his fellow-citizens, along with the respectable and trustworthy Andro, partly for his honourable and upright character, but partly also for his eloquence, that through him the many different wrongs done by Verres might be put before this Court in the clearest and most convincing way possible.

LXV. Halaesa, Catina, Tyndaris, Henna, Herbita, Agyrium, Netum, Segesta—all these have spoken; no need to complete the list; you know how many spoke at the first hearing, and how much they had to say. These shall speak again now, and the others
too. And finally, there is one thing in this case 157
which all men shall perceive, that the temper of the Sicilians is such that, if no punishment be inflicted

relinquendas domos ac sedes suas et ex Sicilia decedendum atque adeo fugiendum esse arbitrentur. Hos homines tu persuadebis ad honorem atque amplitudinem tuam pecunias maximas voluntate sua contulisse? Credo, qui te in tua civitate incolumem esse nollent, hi monumenta tuae formae ac nominis in suis civitatibus esse cupiebant. Res declarabit ut cupierint. Iamdudum enim mihi nimium tenuiter Siculorum erga te voluntatis argumenta colligere videor, utrum statuas voluerint tibi statuere an coacti sint.

158 De quo homine auditum est umquam, quod tibi accidit, ut eius in provincia statuae, in locis publicis positae, partim etiam in aedibus sacris, per vim et per universam multitudinem deicerentur? Tot homines in Asia nocentes, tot in Africa, tot in Hispania, Gallia, Sardinia, tot in ipsa Sicilia fuerunt: ecquo de homine hoc umquam audivistis? Novum est, iudices; in Siculis quidem et in omnibus Graecis monstri simile. Non crederem hoc de statuis nisi iacentes revulsasque vidissem, propterea quod apud omnes Graecos hic mos est, ut honorem hominibus habitum in monumentis eius modi nonnulla religione deorum consecrari
159 arbitrentur. Itaque Rhodii, qui prope soli bellum illud superius cum Mithridate rege gesserint, omnesque eius copias acerrimumque impetum moenibus, litoribus classibusque suis exceperint, tamen, cum ei

upon yonder man, they see nothing for it but to desert their homes and dwellings, and to take their departure, or rather flight, from Sicily. Are these the men of whom you will persuade us that they freely subscribed vast sums of money to honour and glorify you? A likely tale, that while they would not have you go unpunished in your own country, they desired to have memorials of your appearance and illustrious name in theirs! What they did desire the facts will show. Indeed I feel that I have been marshalling too long, and in too great detail, my proofs of the Sicilians' feeling towards you, asking whether they wished to erect statues to you or were made to do it.

Have we ever heard that what happened to you happened to any other man—that his statues in his province, statues set up in public places, and some of them even in sacred edifices, were attacked and thrown down by a united multitude? Think of all the bad rulers that Asia has had, that Africa has had, that Spain and Gaul and Sardinia have had, that Sicily herself has had; yet has this court ever heard this told of any one of them? It is an unheard-of act, gentlemen; and for Sicilians, for any Greeks at all, to behave thus is a sort of monstrosity. I should not believe this about the statues had I not seen them lying there, wrenched off their pedestals; for it is the way of all Greeks to fancy that, in memorials of this kind, the honour bestowed on men is hallowed with a measure of divine consecration. 158
Thus it was that the Rhodians, who maintained the 159
first war against King Mithridates almost single-handed, whose walls and coasts and fleets faced his whole army and the main brunt of his attack, none

regi inimici praeter ceteros essent, statuam eius, quae erat apud ipsos in celeberrimo urbis loco, ne tum quidem in ipsis urbis periculis attigerunt. Ac forsitan vix convenire videretur, quem ipsum hominem cuperent evertere, eius effigiem simulacrumque servare; sed tamen videbam, apud eos cum essem, et religionem esse quandam in his rebus a maioribus traditam, et hoc disputari, cum statua se eius habuisse temporis rationem quo posita esset, cum homine eius quo gereret bellum atque hostis esset. LXVI. Videtis igitur consuetudinem religionemque Graecorum, quae monumenta hostium in bello ipso soleat defendere, eam summa in pace praetoris populi
160 Romani statuis praesidio non fuisse. Tauromenitani, quorum est civitas foederata, homines quietissimi, qui maxime ab iniuriis nostrorum magistratuum remoti consuerant esse praesidio foederis, hi tamen istius evertere statuam non dubitaverunt; qua abiecta basim tamen in foro manere voluerunt, quod gravius in istum fore putabant si scirent homines statuam eius a Tauromenitanis esse deiectam, quam si nullam umquam positam esse arbitrarentur. Tyndaritani deiecerunt in foro, et eadem de causa equum inanem reliquerunt. Leontinis, misera in civitate atque inani, tamen istius in gymnasio statua deiecta est. Nam quid ego de Syracusanis loquar? quod non est pro-

the less, though they hated that king as no other people did, laid no hand upon the statue of him that stood in the most frequented part of their city, not even when that city was in actual danger. It might perhaps seem hardly fitting, when they were eager for the overthrow of the man himself, to preserve the image and likeness of him. But I found, when I was among them, that they have an inherited sense of the sanctity, as it were, of such things; and they argued thus, that with the statue they had thought of the time when it was set up; with the man, of the time when he was fighting them and was their enemy. LXVI. And now you see that the traditional reverence of the Greeks, which commonly protects the memorials of their enemies while they are actually at war with them, has yet, in a time of profound peace, been no protection to the statues of a governor representing the Roman
People. The people of Tauromenium, a treaty 160
state, are a most inoffensive body of persons, whom their treaty has regularly shielded from any contact with oppression on the part of our officials; yet they have thrown down Verres' statue without hesitation; and after knocking it over they decided to keep the pedestal in their market-place, thinking that the knowledge of the overthrow of his statue by the people of Tauromenium would tell more heavily against him than the belief that none had ever been set up. The people of Tyndaris overthrew his statue in their market-place, and from the same motive left the horse there riderless. At Leontini, wretched and poverty-stricken place though it is, his statue in the gymnasium was thrown down nevertheless. Need I speak of what the Syracusans did? The act

prium Syracusanorum, sed et illorum et commune conventus illius ac prope totius provinciae. Quanta illuc multitudo, quanta vis hominum convenisse dicebatur tum cum statuae sunt illius deiectae et eversae! At quo loco! celeberrimo ac religiosissimo, ante ipsum Serapim, in primo aditu vestibuloque templi! Quod nisi Metellus hoc tam graviter egisset atque illam rem imperio edictoque prohibuisset, vestigium statuarum istius in tota Sicilia nullum esset relictum.

161 Atque ego hoc non vereor, ne quid horum non modo impulsu verum omnino adventu meo factum esse videatur. Omnia ista ante facta sunt non modo quam ego Siciliam verum etiam quam iste Italiam attigit. Dum ego in Sicilia sum, nulla statua deiecta est. Postea quam illinc decessi quae sunt gesta cognoscite. LXVII. Centuripinorum senatus decrevit populusque iussit ut, quae statuae C. Verris ipsius et patris et filii essent, eas quaestores demoliendas locarent, dumque ea demolitio fieret, senatores ne minus triginta adessent. Videte gravitatem civitatis et dignitatem. Neque eas in urbe sua statuas esse voluerunt quas inviti per vim atque imperium dedissent, neque eius hominis in quem ipsi cum gravissimo testimonio publice, quod numquam antea, Romam mandata legatosque misissent; et id gravius esse putarunt si publico consilio quam si per vim
162 multitudinis factum esse videretur. Cum hoc con-

[a] Or perhaps "crowded."

was not theirs alone, it was shared by the district, almost by the whole province. What a swarming multitude of people assembled there, we have been told, on the day when his statues were knocked over and thrown down! And think of the actual spot, the famous [a] and sacred spot facing Serapis himself, close to the entrance doorway of his temple! In fact, had Metellus not dealt severely with these proceedings, and by direct order and proclamation put a stop to such actions, not one vestige of this fellow's statues would have been left from end to end of Sicily.

Nor am I afraid that any of these doings will be 161
found to have been due to my instigation, or indeed to anything connected with my visit. They were all over not merely before I reached Sicily but before Verres reached Italy. All the time I was in Sicily, not one statue was thrown down. Now let me tell you what happened after I came away. LXVII. At Centuripa it was decreed by the Senate and confirmed by the people that the quaestors should contract for the demolition of the statues of Verres and Verres' father and Verres' son, and that not less than thirty senators should be in attendance while the demolition was proceeding. Observe the sober dignity with which this community behaved. They would not have those statues in their city, the statues which they had been ordered and forced to present against their will, the statues of a man against whom they had sent to Rome, what they had never sent before, an officially instructed deputation to give their solemn testimony; and they held that their action would have greater weight if it were seen to be the work of considered official policy, and not of mob violence. When 162

silio statuas Centuripini publice sustulissent, audit Metellus; graviter fert; evocat ad se Centuripinorum magistratus et decem primos; nisi restituissent statuas vehementer minatur. Illi ad senatum renuntiant; statuae, quae istius causae nihil prodessent, reponuntur; decreta Centuripinorum quae de statuis erant facta non tolluntur.

Hic ego aliud alii concedo: Metello, homini sapienti, prorsus non possum ignoscere si quid stulte facit. Quid? ille hoc putabat Verri criminosum fore, si statuae eius essent deiectae, quod saepe vento aut aliquo casu fieri solet? Non erat in hoc neque crimen ullum neque reprehensio. Ex quo igitur crimen atque accusatio nascitur? ex hominum
163 iudicio et voluntate. LXVIII. Ego, si Metellus statuas Centuripinos reponere non coegisset, haec dicerem: Videte, iudices, quantum et quam acerbum dolorem sociorum atque amicorum animis inusserint istius iniuriae, cum Centuripinorum amicissima ac fidelissima civitas, quae tantis officiis cum populo Romano coniuncta est ut non solum rem publicam nostram sed etiam in quovis homine privato nomen ipsum Romanum semper dilexerit, ea publico consilio atque auctoritate iudicarit C. Verris statuas esse in urbe sua non oportere. Recitarem decreta Centuripinorum; laudarem illam civitatem, id quod veris-

the people of Centuripa had by this deliberate official action removed the statues, Metellus heard of it, and was very angry; sending for the magistrates and ten chief citizens of Centuripa, he threatened them with savage penalties if they failed to put the statues back. These men reported this to their Senate, whereupon the statues, which could do Verres' cause no good, were replaced; but the decree which the people of Centuripa had passed about the statues was not rescinded.

Now there are some persons for whom certain allowances must be made; but I simply cannot excuse foolishness on the part of a sensible man like Metellus. Why, did he think that Verres' case would be damaged by the mere overthrowing of his statues, a kind of thing for which the wind, or some accident, is often responsible? There was no ground here for prosecution, or even for criticism. What does give ground, then, for a prosecutor's attacks? The judgements, and the feelings, of human beings. LXVIII. 163
If Metellus had *not* forced the people of Centuripa to replace those statues, I should be addressing you thus: Look, gentlemen, how deep and bitter a resentment must have been burnt into the souls of our friends and allies by yonder man's oppression, when this entirely friendly and loyal city Centuripa, which is bound to the people of Rome by devotion so splendid that its affection is given, not only to Rome as a whole, but to any and every individual who but bears the name of "Roman"—when this city, with the deliberate authority of its government, has pronounced that statues of Gaius Verres should not be left within its walls. I should recite to you the decrees that Centuripa passed; I should sing the praises of the

sime possem; commemorarem decem milia civium esse Centuripinorum, fortissimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum; eos omnes hoc statuisse, monumentum
164 istius in sua civitate nullum esse oportere. Haec tum dicerem, si statuas Metellus non reposuisset: velim quaerere nunc ex ipso Metello quidnam sua vi et auctoritate mihi ex hac oratione praeciderit. Eadem opinor omnia convenire. Neque enim, si maxime statuae deiectae essent, ego eas vobis possem iacentes ostendere: hoc uno uterer, civitatem tam gravem iudicasse statuas C. Verris demoliendas. Hoc mihi Metellus non eripuit; haec etiam addidit, ut quererer, si mihi videretur, tam iniquo iure sociis atque amicis imperari ut iis ne in suis quidem beneficiis libero iudicio uti liceret; vos rogarem ut coniecturam faceretis qualem in his rebus in me L. Metellum fuisse putaretis, in quibus rebus obesse mihi posset, cum in hac re tam aperta cupiditate fuerit, in qua nihil obfuit. Sed ego Metello non irascor, neque ei suam purgationem eripio, qua ille apud omnes utitur, ut nihil malitiose neque consulto fecisse videatur.

165 LXIX. Iam igitur est ita perspicuum ut negare non possis nullam tibi statuam voluntate cuiusquam datam, nullam pecuniam statuarum nomine nisi vi expressam et coactam. Quo quidem in crimine non

city, as I very honestly might; I should remind you that the citizens of Centuripa, our honoured and loyal allies, are ten thousand in number, and that every one of them has made up his mind that no memorial of Verres must exist in their land. That is how I 164
should address you, if Metellus had not put those statues back; and now I should like Metellus himself to say from what part of such an address his violent exercise of authority has debarred me. In my view, not one word need be changed. However completely the statues had been overthrown, I could not show you them lying prostrate; I could only argue from the one fact, that this important city pronounced judgement that the statues of Gaius Verres should be demolished. Of this argument Metellus has not robbed me; indeed, he has given me others; for I might, if I chose, protest against the oppressive orders given to these allies and friends of ours, whereby they are not even allowed to judge for themselves what acts of benevolence they shall perform; and I might ask you to guess how Metellus must have treated me in matters where he had power to hinder me, seeing the frank partisanship that he has displayed in this matter where he has not hindered me at all. However, I will not quarrel with Metellus, nor rob him of what all men grant him, his special immunity from being supposed ever to act with a deliberately evil purpose.

LXIX. Well, Verres, it is plain by now, too trans- 165
parently plain for you to deny it, that no single statue was voluntarily given you by anyone, nor any money for providing statues that was not extracted and extorted by force. Now in discussing this charge I do

illud solum intellegi volo, te ad statuas HS viciens coegisse, sed multo etiam illud magis, quod simul demonstratum est quantum odium in te aratorum, quantum omnium Siculorum sit et fuerit. In quo quae vestra defensio futura sit coniectura assequi non queo. "Oderunt Siculi: togatorum enim causa
166 multa feci." At hi quidem acerrimi inimici sunt. "Inimicos habeo cives Romanos, quod sociorum commoda ac iura defendi." At socii in hostium numero sese abs te habitos queruntur. "Aratores inimici sunt propter decumas." Quid? qui agros immunes liberosque arant, cur oderunt? Cur Halaesini? cur Centuripini? cur Segestani? cur Halicyenses? Quod genus hominum, quem numerum, quem ordinem proferre possum qui te non oderit, sive civium Romanorum sive Siculorum? Ut, etiamsi causas cur te oderint non possim dicere, tamen illud dicendum putem, quem omnes mortales oderint, eum vobis
167 quoque odio esse oportere. An hoc dicere audebis, utrum de te aratores, utrum denique Siculi universi bene existiment, aut quo modo existiment, ad rem id non pertinere? Neque tu hoc dicere audebis, nec, si cupias, licebit; eripiunt enim tibi istam orationem contemnendorum Siculorum atque aratorum statuae illae equestres, quas tu paulo ante quam ad urbem venires poni inscribique iussisti, ut omnium inimicorum tuorum animos accusatorumque
168 tardares. Quis enim tibi molestus esset, aut quis ap-

not wish to insist only that you extorted £20,000 for statues. Much more important is what this demonstrates, the strength of the hatred that has been felt and still is felt for you, by the farmers and by all the people of Sicily. And here I cannot guess what your line of defence is to be. "The Sicilians hate me, yes; for I have acted largely in the interests of the Roman section"? Why, it is these who are your 166
savagest enemies. "I have made enemies of the Roman citizens by protecting the interests and rights of our allies"? Why, our allies are denouncing you for treating them as if we were at war with them. "The farmers are my enemies on account of the tithe"? What about those farmers, then, whose land is exempt, free from tithe—why do they hate you? why do the farmers of Halaesa and Centuripa and Segesta and Halicyae hate you? What type or grade or class of men can I mention that does not hate you, whether they are Romans or Sicilians? So much so that, even if I could not say for what reasons they do hate you, I feel that I might well say one thing, that a man who is hated by all human beings cannot but be an object of hatred to this Court. Or 167
will you dare to say, that the question whether the farmers, whether indeed the Sicilians as a whole, think well of you, or what they do think of you, is irrelevant? You will not dare to say that; nor can you if you would; all talk about the unimportance of the Sicilians or the farmers is barred for you by those equestrian statues which you caused to be erected and provided with inscriptions, a little while before your return to Rome, hoping thus to check the fierce attacks of all your enemies and accusers—for who 168
would annoy you, or dare to call you to account, when

pellare te auderet, cum videret statuas ab negotiatoribus, ab aratoribus, a communi Siciliae positas? Quod est aliud in illa provincia genus hominum? nullum. Ergo ab universa provincia, generatimque a singulis eius partibus, non solum diligitur sed etiam ornatur. Quis hunc attingere audeat? Potes igitur dicere nihil tibi obesse oportere aratorum, negotiatorum Siculorumque omnium testimonia, cum eorum nominibus in statuarum inscriptione oppositis omnem te speraris invidiam atque infamiam tuam posse exstinguere? an quorum tu auctoritate statuas cohonestare tuas conatus es, eorum ego dignitate accusationem meam comprobare non potero?

169 Nisi forte quod apud publicanos gratiosus fuisti, in ea re spes te aliqua consolatur. Quae gratia ne quid tibi prodesse posset ego mea diligentia perfeci, ut etiam obesse deberet tu tua sapientia curasti. Etenim rem totam, iudices, breviter cognoscite. LXX. In scriptura Siciliae pro magistro est quidam L. Carpinatius, qui et sui quaestus causa, et fortasse quod sociorum interesse arbitrabatur, bene penitus in istius familiaritatem sese dedit. Is cum praetorem circum omnia fora sectaretur neque ab eo umquam discederet, in eam iam venerat consuetudinem in vendendis istius decretis et iudiciis transigendisque negotiis ut prope alter Timarchides numeraretur;
170 hoc erat etiam capitalior, quod idem pecunias iis

[a] Rents of state lands.

[b] *i.e.*, of the company of revenue contractors. The *magister* or Chairman of Directors would live in Rome: Carpinatius was one of many sub-managers who directed operations in the various districts.

he saw those statues, erected by the merchants, by the farmers, by united Sicily? What other class of persons is there in the province? Why, none. Very well, here is the province as a whole, and here are the several classes that compose it, not merely liking the man, but doing him honour. Now who will dare to touch him! Is it possible, then, for you to say that the evidence of the farmers, the merchants and all the Sicilians must not be allowed to tell against you, when, by shielding yourself with these men's names inscribed upon your statues, you have been expecting to blot out all the odium and infamy that has come upon you? You sought the support of their word, to make your statues respectable—may I not have the support of their worth, to make my arguments convincing?

Perhaps, however, you derive some sort of confid- 169
ence and comfort from having been popular with the revenue contractors? My watchfulness has made it impossible for this popularity at all to help your case; and your intelligence has taken effective steps to make it actually tell against you. Let me in a few words, gentlemen, put the whole story before you. LXX. For collecting the pasture rents [a] of Sicily the working director [b] is one Lucius Carpinatius. This man, both for his own profit and possibly also with an eye to the shareholders' interests, worked his way very thoroughly into intimacy with Verres. He used to follow the praetor round from one market town to another, never leaving him; and before long had become so closely connected with him, marketing his decrees and decisions, and putting through his pieces of jobbery, that he was looked on as a second
Timarchides, but even more deadly, from his custom 170

qui ab isto aliquid mercabantur faenori dabat. Ea autem faeneratio erat eius modi, iudices, ut etiam is quaestus huic cederet; nam quas pecunias ferebat iis expensas quibuscum contrahebat, eas aut scribae istius aut Timarchidi aut etiam isti ipsi referebat acceptas. Idem praeterea pecunias istius extraordinarias grandes suo nomine faenerabatur.
171 Hic primo Carpinatius, antequam in istius familiaritatem tantam pervenisset, aliquotiens ad socios litteras de istius iniuriis miserat. Canuleius vero, qui in portu Syracusis operas dabat, furta quoque istius permulta nominatim ad socios perscripserat, ea quae sine portorio Syracusis erant exportata; portum autem et scripturam eadem societas habebat. Ita factum est ut essent permulta quae ex societatis litteris dicere in istum et proferre possemus.

172 Verum accidit ut Carpinatius, qui iam cum isto summa consuetudine, praeterea re ac ratione coniunctus esset, crebras postea litteras ad socios de istius summis officiis in rem communem beneficiisque mitteret. Etenim cum iste omnia quaecumque Carpinatius postulabat facere ac decernere solebat, tum ille etiam plura scribebat ad socios, ut, si posset, quae antea scripserat, ea plane exstingueret. Ad extremum vero, cum iste iam decedebat, eius modi

[a] *i.e.*, on the "received" side of the account.
[b] The accounts showed that Verres himself was lending money to his victims.
[c] *i.e.*, he was director of the collection of harbour dues.

of lending money at interest to those who wanted to buy something from Verres. And this system of loans was so managed, gentlemen, that the profits even from this source came to our friend here; for the sums that Carpinatius entered as paid to those to whom he made the loans he re-entered [a] as received from Verres' secretary, or from Timarchides, or even from Verres himself [b]; besides which, he also lent in his own name large sums of Verres' money not entered in the accounts at all. In the early days, before 171
establishing this close connexion with Verres, Carpinatius had several times written to the company complaining of wrongs done by Verres; and Canuleius, whose work had to do with the harbour [c] at Syracuse, sent the company a detailed list of numerous thefts Verres had committed in the matter of goods exported from Syracuse without paying the export tax, the same company being contractors for harbour dues as for pasture rents. The result was to provide us with a number of points from the company's records to quote and bring up against Verres.

But it so happened that Carpinatius, being before 172
long closely associated with Verres as his regular intimate—and by substantial reasons as well—subsequently wrote a number of letters to the company about the great services that Verres had been good enough to render to the company's interests. And indeed, by the time that Verres was regularly doing and ordering whatever Carpinatius asked of him, the latter was writing even more frequently to the company, hoping that if possible, the effect of his earlier letters would be completely wiped out. Finally, when Verres was about to

litteras ad eos misit ut huic frequentes obviam prodirent, gratias agerent, facturos se si quid imperasset studiose pollicerentur. Itaque socii fecerunt vetere instituto publicanorum, non quo istum ullo honore dignum arbitrarentur, sed quod sua interesse putabant se memores gratosque existimari; gratias isti egerunt, Carpinatium saepe ad se de eius officiis
173 litteras misisse dixerunt. LXXI. Iste cum respondisset ea se libenter fecisse, operasque Carpinatii magno opere laudasset, dat amico suo cuidam negotium, qui tum magister erat eius societatis, ut diligenter caveret atque prospiceret ne quid esset in litteris sociorum quod contra caput suum atque existimationem valere posset. Itaque ille, multitudine sociorum remota, decumanos[a] convocat, rem defert. Statuunt illi atque decernunt ut eae litterae quibus existimatio C. Verris laederetur removerentur, operaque daretur ne ea res C. Verri fraudi esse posset.
174 Si ostendo hoc decrevisse decumanos, si planum facio hoc decreto remotas esse litteras, quid exspectatis amplius? Possumne magis rem iudicatam afferre, magis reum condemnatum in iudicium adducere? At quorum iudicio condemnatum? nempe eorum quos ii qui severiora iudicia desiderant arbitrantur res

[a] Lit. "tithe-contractors" evidently the wealthiest and most influential section of the company, in which the pasture-rents and harbour-dues contracts were a subsidiary undertaking: see § 175.

leave Sicily, he wrote urging them to assemble in force and meet him on his arrival, to express their thanks, and to promise to execute zealously any commands he might have for them. The company accordingly observed the traditional practice of revenue-contractors, not because they thought he deserved any marks of respect, but because they felt it would pay them not to seem forgetful or ungrateful; they expressed their thanks to him, and told him that Carpinatius had frequently written to them about the services he had done them.
LXXI. He replied that it had been a pleasure to 173
him, and spoke in high terms of the good work of Carpinatius; and then he instructed one of his friends, who was at the time chairman of that company, to take the utmost care and precaution that the company's records should contain nothing that could possibly endanger his position or his character. Accordingly the chairman, after the main body of shareholders had dispersed, called a meeting of the directors[a] and put this before them. This meeting passed a resolution that all records damaging to the reputation of Gaius Verres should be expunged, and that care should be taken to stop this action from being injurious to the said Gaius
Verres. If I prove that the directors did pass this 174
resolution, if I establish the fact that in accordance with this resolution the records were expunged, what more would this Court have? Could I bring forward any issue more clearly decided in advance, or prosecute any person more clearly convicted in advance? Convicted, and by whose judgement? Why, by that of the persons who, if those who long for the restoration of severer tribunals are right, should

iudicare oportere [publicanorum iudicio][1]; quos videlicet nunc populus iudices poscit, de quibus, ut eos iudices habeamus, legem ab homine non nostri generis, non ex equestri loco profecto, sed nobilissimo, pro-
175 mulgatam videmus. Decumani, hoc est principes et quasi senatores publicanorum, removendas de medio litteras censuerunt. Habeo ex iis qui adfuerunt quos producam, quibus hoc committam, homines honestissimos ac locupletissimos, istos ipsos principes equestris ordinis, quorum splendore vel maxime istius qui legem promulgavit oratio et causa nititur. Venient in medium, dicent quid statuerint. Profecto, si recte homines novi, non mentientur; litteras enim communes de medio removere potuerunt, fidem suam et religionem removere non possunt. Ergo equites Romani, qui te suo iudicio condemnarunt, horum iudicio condemnari noluerunt. Vos nunc utrum illorum iudicium an voluntatem sequi malitis considerate.

176 LXXII. Ac vide quid te amicorum tuorum studium, quid tuum consilium, quid sociorum voluntas adiuvet. Dicam paulo promptius; neque enim iam vereor ne quis hoc me magis accusatorie quam libere dixisse arbitretur. Si istas litteras non decreto decu-

[1] *All MSS. have the bracketed words, which modern editors agree to suspect.*

[a] Lucius Aurelius Cotta.

[b] *i.e.*, to have used an unfair, mean, ungentlemanly line of argument—viz. that "worse remains behind."

be the members of these tribunals; the persons whose appointment thereto we are told the nation is now demanding; the persons whose appointment thereto we see directed in a measure that is proposed not by a man of my own type, not by a man of equestrian antecedents, but by a man of most ancient nobility.[a] The tithe-contractors, in other 175
words the principal, we might almost say the senatorial, section of the revenue-contractors, agreed to doing away with those records. I have some of them who were at the meeting, whom I will call upon, and whom I will entrust with this matter, men of high standing and great substance, those very leaders of the equestrian order upon whose illustrious character the proposer of the measure most insisted and most rested his appeal. They will appear before you; they will tell you what they agreed to do; and it is certain that, if I know them rightly, they will tell you the truth; for they could do away with the records of their company, but they cannot do away with their own honour and conscience. So it comes to this: the Roman knights, whose own verdict pronounced this man guilty, did not wish to have him pronounced guilty by the verdict of this Court; it is now for this Court to consider whether it will rather be guided by their verdict or by their wishes.

LXXII. And now ask yourself, Verres, how much 176
good the devotion of your friends, or your own designs, or the benevolence of your business allies can do you. I will speak with some little boldness, for I have now no fear of being thought to have spoken more like a prosecutor than like a fair-minded man.[b] If the directors had not made away

manorum magistri removissent, tantum possem in te dicere quantum in litteris invenissem: nunc, decreto isto facto litterisque remotis, tantum mihi licet dicere quantum possum, tantum iudici suspicari quantum velit. Dico te maximum pondus auri, argenti, eboris, purpurae, plurimam vestem Melitensem, plurimam stragulam, multam Deliacam supellectilem, plurima vasa Corinthia, magnum numerum frumenti, vim mellis maximam Syracusis exportasse: his pro rebus quod portorium non esset datum, litteras ad socios misisse L. Canuleium, qui in portu operas
177 daret. Satisne magnum crimen hoc videtur? Nullum, opinor, maius. Qui id defendet Hortensius? Postulabit ut litteras Canuleii proferam? Crimen eius modi nisi litteris confirmetur inane esse dicet? Clamabo litteras remotas esse de medio, decreto sociorum erepta mihi esse istius indicia ac monumenta furtorum. Aut hoc contendat numquam esse factum, aut omnia tela excipiat necesse est. Negas esse factum? Placet mihi ista defensio; descendo; aequa enim contentio, aequum certamen proponitur. Producam testes, et producam plures eodem tempore; quoniam tum cum actum est una fuerunt, nunc quoque una sint; cum interrogabuntur, obligentur non solum iuris iurandi atque existimationis

with those records as agreed by the tithe-contractors, I should be able to accuse you only of such misconduct as I had found actually recorded; as it is, that resolution having been carried and the records made away with, it is open to me to say the worst I can of you, and to each member of this court to suspect the worst he will of you. I assert that you exported from Syracuse a great weight of gold, silver, ivory, and purple fabrics, a great deal of Maltese cloth and tapestries, a quantity of Delian wares, a large number of Corinthian vessels, a large quantity of corn and an immense amount of honey; and that Lucius Canuleius, the agent for harbour business, wrote to his company complaining that no
export tax had been paid on these goods. Does this 177
seem a serious enough charge? I can conceive none more serious. What defence to it will Hortensius make? Will he demand that I should produce this letter from Canuleius? Will he maintain that a charge of that kind is harmless unless backed by documentary evidence? I reply indignantly that the documents have been done away with, that by the resolution of the company the tokens and records of that man's pilferings have been snatched from my hands. Either he must contend that this never happened, or he must be ready to face every such assault. Do you say it did not happen? Good, that is the line to take; I am ready for you; here is a fair field for us, and no favour. I will now bring forward my witnesses; and I will bring forward a number of them together; they were with one another when the thing was done, let them be so now. When they are examined, they will be bound to speak truth, not only by the risk of perjury

178 periculo, sed etiam communi inter se conscientia. Si
planum fit hoc ita quem ad modum dico esse factum,
num poteris dicere, Hortensi, nihil in istis fuisse
litteris quod Verrem laederet? Non modo id non
dices, sed ne illud quidem tibi dicere licebit, tantum
quantum ego dicam non fuisse. Ergo hoc vestro
consilio et gratia perfecistis, ut, quem ad modum
paulo ante dixi, et mihi summa facultas ad accu-
sandum daretur, et iudici libera potestas ad cre-
dendum.

179 LXXIII. Quod cum ita sit, nihil fingam tamen.
Meminero me non sumpsisse quem accusarem, sed
recepisse quos defenderem; vos ex me causam non
a me prolatam, sed ad me delatam, audire oportere;
me Siculis satis esse facturum si quae cognovi in
Sicilia, quae accepi ab ipsis, diligenter exposuero;
populo Romano, si nullius vim, nullius potentiam
pertimuero; vobis, si facultatem vere atque honeste
iudicandi fide et diligentia mea fecero; mihimet, si
ne minimum quidem de meo curriculo vitae, quod
180 mihi semper propositum fuit, decessero. Qua-
propter nihil est quod metuas ne quid in te confingam.
Etiam quod laetere habes; multa enim quae scio a
te esse commissa, quod aut nimium turpia aut parum
credibilia sunt, praetermittam; tantum agam de hoc
toto nomine societatis. Ut iam scire possis, quaeram
decretumne sit. Cum id invenero, quaeram re-

and infamy, but by their partnership in knowledge
of the facts. If it is thus established that the thing 178
happened as I say it did, you will hardly be able to
argue, Hortensius, that there was nothing in those
documents to damage Verres. Not only will you not
say that, but it will not even be possible for you to
maintain that what I allege is not true in every
detail. Well then, your schemes and favours have
succeeded, as I said just now, in giving me a free
hand to bring charges and each member of this
court full power to believe them.

LXXIII. In spite of this, I will invent nothing. 179
I will bear in mind that I have undertaken not a
prosecution of my own accord but a defence at the
request of others; that you, gentlemen, are to hear
me pleading a case not instigated by me but sub-
mitted to me; that I shall be doing my duty by the
Sicilians if I conscientiously set forth such facts as
I learnt in their country and heard from their own
lips; my duty by my own nation, if I refuse to be
terrified by any man's violence or any man's power;
my duty by this court, if my honesty and assiduity
enable its members to pronounce a true and upright
decision; my duty to myself, if I adhere rigidly to
the principles of conduct by which my career has
always been regulated. And therefore there is no 180
reason for you, Verres, to fear my inventing charges
against you. Nay, you may in one respect con-
gratulate yourself: there are many crimes of yours
known to me about which, because they are either
too foul or too incredible, I shall keep silence. I
will simply deal with this affair of the revenue com-
pany as a whole. Not to keep you in suspense, I
will ask—Was that resolution agreed to? When

motaene sint litterae? Cum id quoque constabit, vos iam hoc, me tacito, intellegetis: si illi qui hoc istius causa decreverunt equites Romani nunc idem in eum iudices essent, istum sine dubio condemnarent, de quo litteras eas quae istius furta indicarent et ad se missas et suo decreto remotas scirent esse. Quem igitur ab iis equitibus Romanis qui istius causa cupiunt omnia, qui ab eo benignissime tractati sunt, condemnari necesse esset, is a vobis, iudices, ulla via aut ratione absolvi potest?

181 Ac ne forte ea quae remota de medio atque erepta nobis sunt omnia ita condita fuisse atque ita abdite latuisse videantur ut haec diligentia quam ego a me exspectari maxime puto nihil eorum investigare, nihil assequi potuerit: quae consilio aliquo aut ratione inveniri potuerunt inventa sunt, iudices; manifestis in rebus hominem iam teneri videbitis. Nam quod in publicanorum causis vel plurimum aetatis meae versor vehementerque illum ordinem observo, satis commode mihi videor eorum consuetudinem usu
182 tractandoque cognosse. LXXIV. Itaque ut hoc comperi, remotas esse litteras societatis, habui rationem eorum annorum per quos iste in Sicilia fuisset: deinde

I have arrived at that fact, I will ask—Were the documents destroyed? That also being established, I need say no more, for the court will at once be convinced of this—that if those same knights who then passed that resolution in order to help Verres were sitting here now as judges to try him, they would without question find him guilty, since they know that the letters giving information of his robberies were written to them and were destroyed in accordance with their resolution. Those knights, who feel so warmly towards him, and have been treated with so much consideration by him, would be unable to avoid convicting him; and in view of this, gentlemen, can there possibly be any way open, or any justification, for his not being convicted by you?

And further, lest it should by some chance be 181
thought that the proofs, thus made away with and torn from my grasp, have all of them been so well stowed away, and hidden away, and kept dark, that the assiduous efforts which I feel sure are expected of me have failed to track down or lay hold of any of them, I will say, gentlemen, that what it was reasonably possible for intelligence and foresight to discover has been discovered; you shall now behold the man caught red-handed. Having been concerned for perhaps the greater part of my life in cases connected with revenue-contractors, and having observed the customs of this section of the community with close attention, I believe I may say that practical experience has given me a fairly intimate
acquaintance with them. LXXIV. When therefore 182
I found that the company's records had been made away with, I noted the years during which Verres had been in Sicily, and then looked to see, what

quaesivi, quod erat inventu facillimum, qui per eosdem annos magistri illius societatis fuissent, apud quos tabulae fuissent. Sciebam enim hanc magistrorum qui tabulas haberent consuetudinem esse, ut cum tabulas novo magistro traderent, exempla litterarum ipsi habere non nollent. Itaque ad L. Vibium, equitem Romanum, virum primarium, quem reperiebam magistrum fuisse eo ipso anno qui mihi maxime quaerendus erat, primum veni. Sane homini praeter opinionem improviso incidi. Scrutatus sum quae potui et quaesivi omnia; inveni duos solos libellos, a L. Canuleio missos sociis ex portu Syracusis, in quibus erat scripta ratio mensium complurium rerum exportatarum istius nomine sine portorio; itaque
183 obsignavi statim. Erant[1] haec ex eodem genere quod ego maxime genus ex sociorum litteris reperire cupiebam; verum tantum inveni, iudices, quod apud vos quasi exempli causa proferre possem. Sed tamen quicquid erit in his libellis, quantulumcumque videbitur esse, hoc quidem certe manifestum erit: de ceteris ex hoc coniecturam facere debebitis. Recita mihi, quaeso, hunc primum libellum, deinde illum alterum. LIBELLI CANULEIANI.

Non quaero unde cccc. amphoras mellis habueris, unde tantum Melitensium, unde quinquaginta tricliniorum lectos, unde tot candelabra; non, inquam, iam quaero unde haec habueris, sed quo tantum tibi opus fuerit, id quaero. Omitto de melle; sed tantumne Melitensium, quasi etiam amicorum uxores,

[1] *Peterson conjectures* Non erat haec (*no* MS. *has* non, *but* erat *is in one early one*); *but* tantum inveni *in the next sentence can mean "I found only so much . . ."*

was quite easy to discover, who during those years had been the company's directors and had had charge of the accounts. I knew it was the way of directors in charge of accounts, when handing these over to their successors, rather to like keeping copies of the documents for themselves. Knowing this, I first paid a visit to Lucius Vibius, a prominent member of the equestrian order who had, I found, been director in the very year that most called for investigation. My unexpected visit took him altogether by surprise. I examined everything I could, and asked questions about everything. I found just two papers, sent to the company by Canuleius from the port of Syracuse, which contained a return for several months of goods exported on behalf of Verres, that had paid no export tax; these papers I therefore put under
seal at once. They were of the sort that I was 183
especially anxious to discover among the company's records; but what I had come upon was only enough to produce before you as a specimen of the rest. Still, whatever these papers may contain, and however little that may seem to be, one thing at least will be obvious, that from what you see you are bound to draw inferences about the rest. Kindly read us this paper first, and then that one. *Papers written by Canuleius.*

Now I do not ask you where you got those 400 casks of honey, or all that Maltese cloth, or those 50 dining-room couches, or all those chandeliers. I do not, I repeat, at present ask where you got them all; what I do ask is what you wanted them all for. Never mind the honey; but why so much Maltese cloth, as if you meant to have enough over to equip all your friends' wives; and why so many

tantum lectorum, quasi omnium istorum villas
184 ornaturus esses? LXXV. Et cum haec paucorum mensium ratio in his libellis sit, facite ut vobis triennii totius veniat in mentem. Sic contendo: ex his parvis libellis, apud unum magistrum societatis repertis, vos iam coniectura assequi posse cuius modi praedo iste in illa provincia fuerit, quam multas cupiditates, quam varias, quam infinitas habuerit, quantam pecuniam non solum numeratam verum etiam in huiusce modi rebus positam confecerit.
185 Quae vobis alio loco planius explicabuntur: nunc hoc attendite. His exportationibus quae recitatae sunt scribit HS LX. socios perdidisse ex vicensima portorii Syracusis. Pauculis igitur mensibus, ut hi pusilli et contempti libelli indicant, furta praetoris, quae essent HS duodeciens, ex uno oppido solo exportata sunt. Cogitate nunc, cum illa Sicilia sit, hoc est insula quae undique exitus maritimos habeat, quid ex ceteris locis exportatum putetis; quid Agrigento, quid Lilybaeo, quid Panhormo, quid Thermis, quid Halaesa, quid Catina, quid ex ceteris oppidis; quid vero Messana, quem iste sibi locum maxime tutum arbitrabatur, ubi animo semper soluto liberoque erat, quod sibi iste Mamertinos delegerat ad quos omnia quae aut diligentius servanda aut occultius exportanda erant deportaret. His inventis libellis ceteri remoti et diligentius sunt reconditi; nos tamen, ut omnes intellegant hoc

couches, as if you meant to furnish all their country houses? LXXV. Moreover, the return contained 184
in these papers is for a few months only; so you must allow, gentlemen, for the full three years. My contention is that, from these brief papers found in the hands of a single director of the company, you can fairly infer the nature of the man's piratical career in the province, the number and variety and boundless extent of his greedy desires, and the amount of money he secured, not only in cash but also invested in such forms as those here mentioned. The story of all this shall be told in clearer detail 185
later on; for the moment I ask you to note this point. On the export transactions mentioned in what has been read the writer states that the company has lost £600, due from the 5 per cent tax on exports from Syracuse. In a few short months, therefore, as these contemptible scraps of paper inform us, our praetor exported contraband goods to the value of £12,000 from one town alone. Now ask yourselves, the country being Sicily, an island with ports of departure all round it, the probable amount thus exported from the other localities—from Agrigentum, from Lilybaeum, from Panhormus, from Thermae, from Halaesa, from Catina, from all the other towns, and particularly from Messana, which he reckoned the safest spot for him, and in which he always felt easy and comfortable, having chosen the Mamertines as his consignees for everything that might need to be guarded with special care or sent out of the country with special secrecy After the detection of these papers, all the rest were carried off and stowed away with particular care; however, we on this side, wishing everyone to

nos sine cupiditate agere, his ipsis libellis contenti sumus.

186 LXXVI. Nunc ad sociorum tabulas accepti et expensi, quas removere honeste nullo modo potuerunt, et ad amicum tuum Carpinatium revertemur. Inspiciebamus Syracusis a Carpinatio confectas tabulas societatis, quae significabant multis nominibus eos homines versuram a Carpinatio fecisse qui pecunias Verri dedissent. Quod erit vobis luce clarius, iudices, cum eos ipsos produxero qui dederunt; intellegetis enim illa tempora per quae, cum essent in periculo, pretio sese redemerunt cum societatis tabulis non solum consulibus verum etiam
187 mensibus convenire. Cum haec maxime cognosceremus et in manibus tabulas haberemus, repente aspicimus lituras eius modi quasi quaedam vulnera tabularum recentia. Statim suspicione offensi ad ea ipsa nomina oculos animumque transtulimus. Erant acceptae pecuniae C. VERRUCIO C. F.; sic tamen ut usque ad alterum R litterae constarent integrae, reliquae omnes essent in litura. Alterum, tertium, quartum, permulta erant eiusdem modi nomina. Cum manifesto res flagitiosa litura tabularum atque insignis turpitudo teneretur, quaerere incipimus de Carpinatio quisnam is esset Verrucius quicum tantae pecuniae rationem haberet. Haerere homo, versari, rubere. Quod lege ex-

appreciate the reasonable spirit in which we are dealing with this matter, are satisfied with these papers before us.

LXXVI. We will now go back to the company's accounts of receipts and expenditure, which they had no respectable means of suppressing, and to your friend Carpinatius. I was at Syracuse looking through the company's accounts kept by Carpinatius, in which a number of items showed that persons who had paid sums of money to Verres had borrowed for the purpose from Carpinatius—a fact that will be clearer than daylight to you, gentlemen, the moment I bring forward the actual persons who made these payments; for you will see that the dates at which they bought release from their critical situations by bribery correspond, not only year for year but month for month, with the company's 186
accounts. While noting these particular facts, with the accounts open in my hands, I suddenly caught sight of some erasures that suggested recent injuries to the tablets. As soon as this suspicion struck me, I transferred my eyes and attention to these special items. There were sums entered as received from *Gaius Verrucius son of Gaius do*; but whereas up to the second "r" the letters were plainly untouched, all after that were written over an erasure; and there was a second, a third, a fourth, a large number of items of the same character. Since these erasures on the tablets manifestly indicated some conspicuously villainous and dirty proceeding, I proceeded to ask Carpinatius who this Verrucius was with whom he had such extensive money transactions. The man hesitated, shuffled, went red in the face. As the law exempts the accounts of 187

cipiuntur tabulae publicanorum quo minus Romam deportentur, ut res quam maxime clara et testata esse posset, in ius ad Metellum Carpinatium voco, tabulasque societatis in forum defero. Fit maximus concursus hominum, et, quod erat Carpinatii nota cum isto praetore societas ac faeneratio, summe exspectabant omnes quidnam in tabulis
188 teneretur. LXXVII. Rem ad Metellum defero, me tabulas perspexisse sociorum; in his tabulis magnam rationem C. Verrucii permultis nominibus esse; meque hoc perspicere ex consulum mensiumque ratione, hunc Verrucium neque ante adventum C. Verris neque post decessionem quicquam cum Carpinatio rationis habuisse. Postulo ut mihi respondeat qui sit is Verrucius, mercator an negotiator an arator an pecuarius, in Sicilia sit an iam decesserit. Clamare omnes ex conventu neminem umquam in Sicilia fuisse Verrucium. Ego instare ut mihi responderet quis esset, ubi esset, unde esset: cur servus societatis qui tabulas conficeret semper in Verrucii nomine certo
189 ex loco mendosus esset. Atque haec postulabam, non quo illum cogi putarem oportere ut ad ea mihi responderet invitus, sed ut omnibus istius furta, illius flagitium, utriusque audacia perspicua esse posset. Itaque illum in iure metu conscientiaque peccati mutum atque exanimatum ac vix vivum

revenue-contractors from liability to removal to Rome, and as I wished to have the facts cleared up and corroborated as far as I could, I brought an action against Carpinatius before Metellus, and took the company's accounts along to the court-house. A large crowd gathered; and since Carpinatius was notorious as a partner of Governor Verres and as a money-lender, there was great and general curiosity to know what the account-books contained. LXXVII.
I stated my charge before Metellus, saying that I 188
had inspected the company's accounts; that they included a large one, with a great many entries, under the name of Gaius Verrucius; and that by comparing the months and years I had discovered that no such Verrucius had kept any sort of account with Carpinatius either before the arrival of Gaius Verres or after his departure. I demanded therefore that Carpinatius should tell me who this Verrucius was, merchant or banker or arable or pastoral farmer, and whether he was still in Sicily or had gone away. The whole audience shouted that there had never been in Sicily anyone called Verrucius. I insisted that he should answer me and say who this was, where he was, and where he came from, and why the company's slave who wrote up the accounts, when he wrote the name of Verrucius, always went
wrong at one particular point. And I did not make 189
these demands because I thought it right that he should be forced to answer my questions against his will; my purpose was to make quite plain to everyone the peculations of Verres, the misconduct of Carpinatius, and the audacity of them both. So I left the man there before the praetor, speechless and dazed and half dead with the terrors of his

relinquo; tabulas in foro, summa hominum frequentia, exscribo; adhibentur in scribendo ex conventu viri primarii, litterae lituraeque omnes assimulatae et
190 expressae de tabulis in libros transferuntur. Haec omnia summa cura et diligentia recognita et collata et ab hominibus honestissimis obsignata sunt.

Si Carpinatius tum mihi respondere noluit, responde tu mihi nunc, Verres, quem esse hunc tuum paene gentilem Verrucium putes. Fieri non potest ut, quem video te praetore in Sicilia fuisse, et quem ex ipsa ratione intellego locupletem fuisse, eum tu in tua provincia non cognoveris. Atque adeo, ne hoc aut longius aut obscurius esse possit, procedite in medium atque explicate descriptionem imaginemque tabularum, ut omnes mortales istius avaritiae non iam vestigia sed ipsa cubilia videre possint.
191 LXXVIII. Videtis VERRUCIUM? videtis primas litteras integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, codam illam Verrinam tamquam in luto demersam esse in litura? Sic habent se tabulae, iudices, ut videtis. Quid exspectatis? quid quaeritis amplius? Tu ipse, Verres, quid sedes? quid moraris? Nam aut exhibeas nobis Verrucium necesse est aut te Verrucium esse fateare.

Laudantur oratores veteres, Crassi illi et Antonii, quod crimina diluere dilucide, quod copiose reorum causas defendere solerent. Nimirum illi non ingenio

guilty conscience, and proceeded to make a copy of the accounts, there in the market-place with a great crowd looking on. Men of position in the district helped with the writing, and every letter and erasure was transferred, reproduced exactly, from the accounts to my books. The whole thing was then 190
examined and compared with scrupulous care, and signed and sealed by certain gentlemen of high standing.

If Carpinatius would not answer me then, will you answer me now, Verres, and say who you suppose this Verrucius is who is almost one of your own clan? I see the man was in Sicily during your praetorship, and the account is enough to show me that he was rich, so it is out of the question that you in your own province were not acquainted with him. Or rather, for the sake of brevity and clearness, step forward, gentlemen, and unroll this facsimile transcript of the accounts, so that instead of following out the tracks of his voracity the world may now see it at home in its lair. LXXVIII. Do you see the 191
word VERRUCIUS? Do you see how the first letters are all right? Do you see the last part of the name, how the tail-bit there is sunk in the erasure like a pig's tail in mud? Well, gentlemen, the accounts are what you see they are; what are you waiting for, what more would you have? You yourself, Verres, why are you sitting there doing nothing? Either you must show us Verrucius, you know, or you must confess that Verrucius is you.

Famous orators of the past, like Crassus and Antonius, were celebrated for their brilliant way of undermining the prosecutor's case and bringing up a mass of arguments to support the accused. But

solum his patronis sed fortuna etiam praestiterunt. Nemo enim tum ita peccabat ut defensioni locum non relinqueret; nemo ita vivebat ut nulla eius vitae pars summae turpitudinis esset expers; nemo ita in manifesto peccato tenebatur ut, cum impudens fuisset in facto, tum impudentior videretur si negaret.
192 Nunc vero quid faciat Hortensius? Avaritiaene crimina frugalitatis laudibus deprecetur? At hominem flagitiosissimum, libidinosissimum nequissimumque defendit. An ab hac eius infamia ac[1] nequitia vestros animos in aliam partem fortitudinis commemoratione traducat? At homo inertior, ignavior, magis vir inter mulieres, impura inter viros muliercula, proferri non potest. At mores commodi. Quis contumacior? quis inhumanior? quis superbior? At haec sine cuiusquam malo. Quis acerbior, quis insidiosior, quis crudelior umquam fuit? In hoc homine atque in eius modi causa quid facerent omnes Crassi et Antonii? Tantum, opinor, Hortensi: ad causam non accederent, neque in alterius impudentia sui pudoris existimationem amitterent. Liberi enim ad causas solutique veniebant, neque committebant ut, si impudentes in defendendo esse noluissent, ingrati in deserendo existimarentur.

[1] ac (*Mueller's conjecture*) is in no MS.

[a] It is implied that Hortensius is hampered by being under obligations to Verres.

the fact is that they had not only better brains than the advocates of to-day but also better luck. For in those days no man was such an offender that no grounds were left for a defence of him; no man lived so evil a life that every part of it was utterly foul; no man was caught misconducting himself so unmistakably that the shamelessness of his act would be thought less than the shamelessness of his denying it. But in this case, what is Hortensius to 192
do? Is he to palliate the charges of greed against his client by eulogizing his respectability? Why, that client is an immoral, licentious, filthy scoundrel. Is he to divert your attention from his scandalous immorality by dwelling upon his bravery? Why, a lazier man, a greater coward, a fellow who so plays the man among women and the degraded contemptible woman among men, is not to be produced anywhere. Is it said that he is good-natured? No one is more rude and unfeeling and overbearing. Is it said that his bad points do no hurt to anyone? No one was ever more harsh and treacherous and brutal. With such a client, and with such a case, what would any Crassus or Antonius do? So much as this, surely, Hortensius: they would not undertake the case at all, nor lose their name as men of honour for the sake of a man who sticks at nothing. For they always came into court with their hands free and unshackled, and never so committed themselves that they could only avoid the shamelessness of defending a scoundrel by being thought ungrateful for refusing to defend him.[a]

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The references are to the pages of the Latin text.

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